

THE
GREEK
SPIRIT

KATE
STEPHENS

DF

77

583

Cornell University Library

BOUGHT WITH THE INCOME OF THE

SAGE ENDOWMENT FUND

THE GIFT OF

Henry W. Sage

1891

A. 368762

10/14/17

9306

Date Due

~~JUN - 4 1956 H X~~

JAN 12 1957 K U

1-10-58

DEC 12 1974 NTU

104

MAY 16 2002

APR 25 1996

~~ADR~~ ~~1-1000~~

Cornell University Library
DF 77.S83

Greek spirit;



alin



Cornell University
Library

The original of this book is in
the Cornell University Library.

There are no known copyright restrictions in
the United States on the use of the text.

<http://www.archive.org/details/cu31924028257214>

THE GREEK SPIRIT

THE GREEK SPIRIT

*Phases of Its Progression in Religion,
Polity, Philosophy and Art*

BY

KATE STEPHENS

Author of "American Thumb-Prints: Mettle of our
Men and Women," "A Woman's
Heart," etc., etc.

New York
STURGIS & WALTON
COMPANY

1914

~~3702~~

~~A59~~

A.368762

Copyright 1914

By STURGIS & WALTON COMPANY

Set up and electrotyped. Published March, 1914

FOREWORD

A BRIEF account of Hellenic thought, Hellenic feeling and Hellenic will before their subversion by the rude genius of Macedonia, is within these covers. The book essays to make the old Greek spirit speak to the general reader who has never studied Greek, and, if he will, to the Greek student—it is an endeavor to tell somewhat of the message of Greek thought and action, of the lifting and broadening of the vision of human life associated with the social mind and will of the old-day Hellenes. Just as Greek ideas, forgotten except by the eremite student, brought a new world of light to the wondering peoples of the west, more than four hundred and fifty years ago, so now, a reconsideration of Greek ideals might well seize the often poorly held or wholly unoccupied imagination of to-day and give to our life profounder and wider meaning.

My object, I said, has been to bring out the spiritual perspective of that ever wonderful

Greek life, to give various aspects of the life's evolution, to present its tendencies as a simple thing (as they must be in the great whole of human history), to point to early forms of many present-day ideas and usages which express the inward consciousness of man, to endeavor to turn away certain false conceptions of the Greeks and by holding attention to their accomplishment to show that they were a people whose heads were clear and hearts exceedingly human.

The subject is old, much spoken about. Still ever new in its surpassing significance to all time. I hope my essay may reflect somewhat of the old Greek directness and Greek penetration of life. But any setting forth of the unfolding of the Hellenes' spirit is apt to suggest some such cry as "Inadequate," and the inevitable comparison of "Man's nothing-perfect to God's All-Complete."

In mentally reviewing those to whom I am in this writing debtor, I am weighted with a sense of obligation to so many who have thought and taught that I am not able to call by name one half. The list would begin with the Greeks themselves and their high utter-

ance. It would pass to many a worker of the far-away Renaissance, who with the zeal of a lover of his kind searched a wonderful, forgotten world

“with the throttling hands of Death at strife,
Ground he at grammar;
Still, thro’ the rattle, parts of speech were rife.
While he could stammer
He settled *Hoti’s* business—let it be—
Properly based *Oun*—
Gave us the doctrine of the enclitic *De*,
Dead from the waist down.”

A glorious roll of scholars would carry the list on through centuries, and end only in the great delvers in Greek thought and Greek earth in this day of ours, and the learned conclusions of those men and women. Such consciousness of indebtedness forbids my including in these covers what is in such a work often deemed an essential, a bibliographical list.

Psychologists tell about a law they have formulated—that in operations of the mind unconscious phenomena play a preponderating part. For years it has been my habit to reread matter of special appeal. Some expression I have gained *memoriter* may have

crept into this essay. If this should prove a fact, I should regret it. To all that I know as quoted words I have put rigorous quotation marks, to statements indefinitely remembered such phrases as "it is said," and I most sincerely hope I have in no instance omitted that justice—poor return, it would be, for the delight of reading thoughtful books.

New York, 1914.

CONTENTS

	PAGE
GIFTS OF THE SPIRIT TO OUR EVOLUTION	3
ÆGEAN PEOPLES FORERUNNING THE GREEKS	23
THEIR ART GIFT;	
THEIR RELIGION OF MOTHER EARTH;	
THEIR GOVERNMENT;	
INROADS OF PEOPLES FROM THE NORTH.	
HEROIC AGE OF THE GREEKS	47
ITS RELIGION OF THE PHENOMENA OF NA- TURE AND THE SOCIAL GROUP;	
ITS KINGSHIP OF HEROES;	
ITS MORAL IDEAS, REVERENT FEAR, ETC.;	
THE EPIC ITS ART.	
BURGEONING DEMOCRACY; ITS PURITAN- ISM; ITS ART	83
PASSING OF THE MONARCHY, OLIGARCHY, TYRANNUS; THE CONSTRUCTIVE INDI- VIDUALISM OF CITIES;	
ORPHISM, ELEUSINIAN MYSTERIES, RECRU- DESCENCE OF SUPERSTITION;	
EARLY GREEK PHILOSOPHY: PHYSICS FORE- CASTING MODERN SCIENCE;	
DEVELOPMENT OF LYRIC POETRY: NATIONAL GAMES OF THE HELLENES.	

CONTENTS

PAGE

FIFTY YEARS OF DISTINGUISHED WORKS 203

A DEFENSIVE, UNIFYING WAR: DEMOCRACY
IN ATHENS;

RACE SPIRIT IN ARCHITECTURE ADORNING
ATHENS, IN SCULPTURE AND ALLIED
ARTS;

THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR; ITS RESULTS;
IMPERISHABLE HISTORIES OF HERODOTUS
AND THUCYDIDES: WHY THEY WERE
WRITTEN;

RISE OF THE DRAMA; SUCH MASTERS AS
ÆSCHYLUS, SOPHOCLES, EURIPIDES,
ARISTOPHANES;

COMING OF THE SOPHISTS AND THE NEW
EDUCATION;

SOCRATES, PLATO; PINNACLE OF THE GREEK
ASCENT;

DECADENCE OF THE GREEK SPIRIT . . 301

WHAT WERE THE CAUSES OF THE DETERIORA-
TION? — EXHAUSTION OF THE GREEKS?
— MALARIA? — ECONOMIC CONDITIONS?
— LOSS OF RACE CONSCIOUSNESS AND
SUBVERSION OF IDEALS?

DYNAMIC CHARACTERISTICS OF THE GREEKS;
CERTAIN LIKENESSES OF GREEK AND
AMERICAN;

THE COSMIC VISION THE GREEKS WORKED
OUT.

**GIFTS OF THE GREEK SPIRIT
TO OUR EVOLUTION**

History is the development of Spirit in Time.—HEGEL, in *The Philosophy of History*.

Mankind is not a mere collection of detached individuals, or man could possess no knowledge of any unity of scientific truth. . . . Human experience is not merely a collection of detached observations, but forms an actual spiritual unity, whose type is not that of a mechanism, whose connections are ideally significant, whose constitution is essentially that which the ideal of unified truth requires.—JOSIAH ROYCE, in *Loyalty and Insight*.

That society is not a mere aggregate but an organic growth, that it forms a whole the laws of whose growth can be studied apart from those of the individual alone, supplies the most characteristic postulate of modern speculation.

Vast social organization is the work of a vast series of generations unconsciously fashioning the order which they transmit to their descendants.—SIR LESLIE STEPHEN, in *The Science of Ethics*.

GIFTS OF THE GREEK SPIRIT TO OUR EVOLUTION

UNIFORMITY and necessity of natural law is the first great maxim of our twentieth century science. It leads investigators to search for origins, the cause behind the fact. Through its light phenomena themselves bear witness how they are and why they are. It is the principle upon which the sciences have reared their structure. In the sixth century before Christ this law established itself among the Ionians of Asia Minor.

The second great formula of science, announced by early Greek physicists, by thinkers through many ages, and finally after long suppression becoming a radical dictator of the sciences of our nineteenth century, is that nature is not only subject to the law of uniformity but that ever alongside of uniformity is infinite and consistent gradation, that the world is a result of a process of growth, that more complex life grows out of simpler forms.* This second maxim, over-

whelming many a misbelief, advances the study of nature toward the standard and requirement of reason whose first postulate is the unity of all being.

These two maxims have gained undeniable results in illuminating the world of physical nature. But in that other world of psychical nature, of which we know no settled form and which we call the world of spirit, these principles have no less force and application. In that also is the uniformity and necessity of law. This, Heraclitus, a philosopher of the early Ionians, bespoke in part, "The sun will not go beyond his bounds: if he does the avenging deities, handmaids of justice, will find him out." And later Anaxagoras told of it, and Sophocles, with unfailing penetration and art, set forth the law in his dramas.

Spirit is mysterious in its workings. We are ignorant of its laws. Yet in its world is traceable an unbroken development of consciousness from the first faint dawning in brute sense upon our planet and millions of years ago, traceable with many an off-wandering and aside but still ever clear, and rising through works and their aspirations—through

instinct, habit, sentiment, languages, religions and other institutions of human amalgamation, art, literature, science,—to where the glorified spirit of man comprehends itself one with absolute reason and absolute love. Throughout this upward trend, this urging, an invisible, spiritual energy has borne on—by evidence with a cosmic meaning and cosmic end.

In this conception we are not far from a faith of the old Hellenes in a divine and universal order in human affairs, what we to-day call a principle of progress, enduring through many phases of the Greek spirit, and evidencing itself in their state, their literature and their art.

Strata of our earth make clear records of foregoing and material forms of life. In the records of the spirit are also shining ages and epochs, more full and more intelligible than the history mere matter has written—records preserved in the inspiration the human race has voiced in its poetry and prose, in the metals and marbles the race has brought from the earth's recesses and wrought in arts, in the laws and politics its peoples have founded and conducted for the

common weal—all golden fossils of uplifting and outspreading life.

Spirit, the expansive force of the world, grows towards ideas. Ideas are the eternal forms which spirit ever tends to assume. We measure the growth of spirit by the ideas which inform it. Enormous and mixed populations with a composite and inharmonious and often misleading culture, make history an apparent confusion. Still universal history is but a record of the growth of spirit, an orderly process, a legitimate, *gesetzmässig* development, an evolution from factors we seek to find. To this process of growth many races have brought an appreciable contribution.

Between all nations and communities of men there is an importing of thought, a carrying from one to another. Even in remote times this was true. For instance, the ancient *Ægean* peoples which foreran the Greek seized upon certain forms in the more ancient Asiatic and Egyptian civilizations, saving and continuing in the godlike and comprehensive art of a later day the early evolving beauty. More purely in the realm of ideas is the bearing upon, and gift of Orphic mysti-

cism to budding Christianity. No people ever takes up a problem where another has laid it down, nor ever takes it up with the same grasp and disposition—race character and race traits forbid.

Some peoples thrive by whatever might inheres in them, and then perish according to the law of their organic growth, leaving to later dwellers on this earth little record of their work—no more perhaps than some ruined house of a god or of a warrior, or buried shards of folk pottery, or merely the form and inner savings of a serpent-mound. Such nations seemingly have no heirs. The strength and vitality of other peoples, again, pass on and flourish through many times and among alien nations, vast, resurgent factors in evolution.

It is the fortune of ancient Greece to have thought and wrought for the world. Compared with the life of this earth which scientists of these days say is not below fifty-five millions of years, and may run into several hundreds of millions, the centuries the spirit of Greece dured in splendid triumph are as the flight of a bird through a summer garden. In that brief moment, however, Greece not

only wrought for generations that have lived their life upon this earth and died since her strong spirit shone forth, but for whatever generations may continue to think and upon this planet work out their gift to the universal life. She received and rationalized the better part of the content of more ancient civilizations and preserved to us whatever of their substance was true, and she clearly and gloriously inaugurated the new era of the dominion of mind over nature.

Much of the most delicate spirit of Hellas, the perfect bloom of her spirit, perished with her ancient free people. Much of what is finest of her growth yields only to patient and arduous study. Yet how vast has been her impetus to us younger peoples, and how greatly have Greek thought and Greek art and Greek politics affected our own!

The Hellene was the first of western races to think, and to know that what he was doing was thinking. Custom petrified into meaningless form, auguries, incantations delivered in cataleptic trance, fantastic outgrowths of the human mind and denying the very facts of life, negating human sympathy, human equality and human interest—these were the

forms of intellectual life. The Greek was the first to proclaim the sovereign power of rational reflection. Therefore he created science, scientific method of patient analysis and unbiased research, and philosophy.

The Greek was the first to feel that the beautiful has its own laws, that its cult is the most ennobling pleasure—nay, more than a pleasure, an ideal to be worshiped through all sorrows and toils. The Hellene therefore created art. Before him was only ostentation and ornamentation.

The Hellene, again, recognized that the good is an end in itself, that the laws of conduct are the laws of reason. Before the noon-tide of his great day other peoples attempted ethical systems. In Egypt they had a stereotyped ritual controlled by a priesthood, the people from the king up barren from arid omens, their mental power so weakened by an affluent material civilization that they bartered themselves—slavery and intellectual abnegation in this world for good luck in the world to come; blessedness in the everlasting mansions of an eternal life the priests promised, if the people would here yield to their guidance and follow their counsel.

In the countries of the orient Chinese seers wrought a colossal, iron-grooved ceremonial for the numberless relations of human life—a servile worship of form, reason without sense of human freedom, laws of living suited to a so-called Superior Man.

Nations of India, struggling for ages to loose the sense of brooding mystery, the mental cramp in which her exuberant, over-awing nature held their spirit, filled with formless yearning after the sublime immensity without and rules of human action within, had sunk paralyzed into inactivity, into a comfortless religion fettered with caste, fatalism and gods of monstrous form, into silent servility to tradition, prescribed formula and fear to offend the gods by enquiry into causes. Science, literature—knowledge by which they could be free—was to the people of India a theological secret kept in the gloom of a temple and subjected to temple inspiration. Impiety alone would prompt the unveiling. Priests, a segregated caste who lived by the altar, received any new gain in human wisdom and reserved it to themselves.

The story of the Hebrews, told in our Bible, is often saturated with a feeling towards mo-

ality. Its tale testifies that the Hebrews suffered frightful lapses in promulgation of human duties. For instance, in the nineteenth chapter of Leviticus, where the laws of neither dealing falsely, neither lying one to another, nor defrauding thy neighbor, and payment before another day of him that is hired, are followed by the injunction "thou shalt not respect the person of the poor." Both Leviticus and Deuteronomy are rich in promises of material blessings to those walking in the way of the Lord and of disaster to those who forsake that path. Job's friends had at hand such formulas of moral government. In the old patriarchal theory of life the righteous would be prosperous, the wicked "poor." Desperate sight of the reverse condition led later to outcries in certain of the Psalms. All through its course portrayed in the Bible, Israel stood awed before the moral government of the world, and only in a comparatively late day worked out an ethical cult.¹

¹ "The Israelites were slow in attaining conceptions of sin and at no time prior to the publication of the Gospel were they able to combine their conceptions into coherent doctrines."—DR. FRANCIS J. HALL, in *Evolution and the Fall*.

Before the Greeks, throughout the ancient world there was in ethics little save hieratic authority. The Hellenes, unhampered by worship of sacred writings, or by dogmatism of a priest caste, gifted with the instinct which allowed the harmonious unfolding of human powers and capacities, had in their in-born self-limitation guides to morality. Life to them was penetrated with an ethical instinct. Their power of analysis—asking in the moral world what they asked in the physical, why should there be human duty, what are the principles of conduct, the law of human action—united to their sense of proportion, their sentiment of and feeling for humanity, their sensibility to man's function in the social organism, created their dialectic in ethics, their science of morality.

The Hellene, gifted, we say, with the instinct which organized political life and obedience to the public spirit of the laws, discovered that the state is rational, that its form should correspond to its function, that government is, as has been phrased to-day, the corporate reason of the community. Thus he was the first to announce political liberty. Before him society had swerved between des-

potism and anarchy, or, as at times with the Jews, to theocracy. There had been no attempt to reconcile the freedom and good of the state and the freedom and good of the individual. The Hellene's practical morality went hand in hand with his civic freedom, and was in fact united to and disciplined by it.

This, in part, is what Greece gave to the evolution of the spirit of man. These were her factors. And even in the law which prevails to-day, the fundamental expansion of which is the real glory of Rome, and in the religion which prevails to-day, the foundation of which is an illumination and glory of ancient Judæa, the share of the Greek is great. Without Greece we should never have had the law of Rome. Nor should we have had that religion from Judæa which to-day practices and perpetuates phases of a glowing Greek mysticism and Greek rites and Greek ritual—a religion passing from precepts of ethical conduct, the Sermon on the Mount, to the emphasis of belief in a dogmatic Nicene creed, from the mighty moral enthusiasm of its Teacher to the ethics of the Roman law.

Greece was master of the intellect of man in the world then known from the spread of

her ideas in the fourth century before Christ to the time of Justinian, when Plato's academy, the first school of philosophy opened at Athens, was also the last to be closed (529 A. D.). The spirit of Hellas had a complete historic continuity, not by ideas alone but by many definite institutions and works. Fathers of the Church were often trained in old Greek ideas and in the rhetorical methods of itinerant teachers called sophists. Their homily, a fusion of exhortation and teaching, was made after the manner of sophists' public addresses, and as about the sophists disciples and other auditors crowded and acclaimed, so about the great preachers. Greek rhetoric, that is, created the form of the Christian sermon, just as Greek philosophy projected the Christian dogmatic creed. Amid the cloisters and gloom of the Middle Ages a petrification of Aristotelianism, known as Scholasticism, buttressed the doctrines of the Church. Without Greece we should not have had the science which then served stably. Nor in the ninth century a mystic Neo-Platonism finding life's end in ecstasy and rapt contemplation of the divine. Nor should we have had the Renaissance after

long imprisonment of the spirit of man. Even till to-day Greece is the master of the intellect of man.

Thus closely are the Greeks our spiritual ancestors. The Greek mind and its products are the first flowering of the European peoples. Constructive Greeks set forth the first science, the first art, the first freedom, the first devotion to self-imposed laws, the first impulse of man to independent stable growth. They were the first people to be free in intellect, free in art and free in politics. The saying of Pericles of Athens to his fellow Athenians regarding their colonies may meet broadest application:—"We shall not be without witnesses assuredly: mighty documents of our power these are, which shall make us the wonder of ages to come."

But Greece was not always the land of the spirit. In the rude works of her infancy the vision of a seer would hardly foresee the height and glory of the Hellenes' prime. The way was to be long, and hundreds of generations were to build with no glimmer of the coming race's glory. Great outpourings of the spirit of life, and any expressive radiance to the eyes of men, must for matur-

ing have not only time for factor, but also environment. That they, the Greeks, so mightily surpassed all civilizations of their day is, perhaps, in one measure due to their country and the plenitude of life and joy accorded them in that land now consecrated from their having evolved and wrought their miracle there. Spiritual energy, "root of being," seems to have found in their life less obstacle to evolution of its reflective reason than elsewhere, and more plastic conditions for expressing itself in beauty through the hand of man.

The home of this people, of all lands at that point in the evolution of the human race best calculated to further its indwellers' harmonious development, included the eastern mainland of Mediterranean Europe, the most western coast of Asia Minor, and the beautiful islands that lie between—mountains half-submerged, cutting their way out of the wine-bright sea and seeming to rest like birds upon its waters. In the Greeks' years this sea was the great highway of the world's travel.

European Greece, the mainland of theirs, projecting far into the Ægean and turning a waiting front towards Asia, was cleft by har-

bor-seeking waters. That is, a thousand bays and gulfs cut into its coasts. Within, the land lay in countless vales and mountain sides. In some parts a fertile glebe blessed it. In others the scant soil that educates its people for mastership; "not always," said Herodotus at the end of his history, "does the same earth bear wonderful crops and most valiant men."

Cereals grew in sunlit tillage, the grape sacred through its use in the religions of many peoples, the gray-green olive, other esculent fruits, and horned cattle grazed in meadows dotted by benefactive forest trees. Here and there healthful and sparkling waters sprang from hillsides and ran in streams to the sea. Above spread a clear and lambent air—it is claimed that the Greek love of precise form resulted from clear-cut outline in their lucid atmosphere. Over all temperateness in climate—at Colonus near Athens the golden eye of the crocus shone through its cup in that month we know as February, and in springtime in green valleys, says Sophocles, the clear-voiced nightingale sang her sweet lament under the dark ivy sacred to Bacchus.

Response to environment is a potent factor in evolution. From this face of nature and its conditions, there was not only the possibility, there was a foreordained necessity that here an unparalleled civilization should evolve—unless some subtle form of human decay, possibly by endemic parasitic fevers, of which in the earlier days we find no sign, or some disastrous earthquake should cut evolution short. Nature's very chiseling of the main home in hill and bosky hollow, thus making difficult inter-communication by land, proved in early times a furtherer of development, even if later a fault. It worked against formation of a central government strong enough to control the segregated peoples. Each hill was a natural wall to bar out a neighbor wishing to raid for pastime or gain, and led, in a race of such potentialities as the Greeks', to quietude needed for self-developing labor. And it helped make the Greeks seafarers. Each snug valley with its water way had in itself a possible walled market. The sea's power of easy roadway cutting into this compactness threw together the shepherd of the hills, the husbandman of the plain and trading sailor. Here began the

many-sided cultivation of the Greek. A mother-land's slenderness as well as poverty trained her workers to labor and kept out cupidious inraiders.

When Greek colonies settled in Sicily and neighboring lands of the Mediterranean basin, not unlike conditions prevailed, and with the nascent Greek mind for their plastic material evoked not unlike development. Even the name of one of those clusters of Greek life, an old cradle of vigorous broods, Arcadia in the Peloponnesus, albeit the country may now have harsh climate and ungrateful soil, signifies to our day teeming pastures and well-wooded mountain-sides watered by cascades and streams, crowned with a temperate and energizing climate and peopled by hardy, clean-limbed, quick-witted dwellers of the soil.

One of the marvels of this people, one of the miracles of the world's development, is that in the broad, outlying, widely separated lands of Hellas with appalling stretches of water between, a race could keep to its distinction and purity of race spirit, could preserve itself even in remote colonies where intermarriage with neighbor of alien blood

must have been common. The Greeks were of many tribes and differing dialects, and of the various life-experiences of the rich and the poor. But whatever else they may have been, they were always and invariably Greek—beings endued with a many-sided harmony and growth.

ÆGEAN PEOPLES FORERUN-
NING THE GREEKS

All beginnings are obscure. . . . The sources of history, too, can only be tracked at a footpace. They must be followed to their fount, like the current of a stream which springs in a mountain fastness.—THEODOR GOMPERZ, in *Greek Thinkers*.

The continuity of human development has been such that most, if not all, of the great institutions which still form the framework of civilized society have their roots in savagery, and have been handed down to us in these later days through countless generations, assuming new outward forms in the process of transmission, but remaining in their inmost core substantially unchanged.—JAMES GEORGE FRAZER, in *Lectures on the Early History of the Kingship*.

We may take it then . . . that the Ægean civilization was indigenous, firmly rooted and strong enough to persist essentially unchanged and dominant in its own geographical area throughout the Neolithic and Bronze Ages.—DAVID GEORGE HOGARTH, in "Ægean Civilization," *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Eleventh Edition.

ÆGEAN PEOPLES FORERUN- NING THE GREEKS

WHO the Hellenes were, what was their origin, we can not with present-day lenses see. They are plainly a people apart in their possibilities of development, and running back to millennia cut off from our peering and mystified vision by an opaque veil—back to that past in which we see but in conjecture various race divergences. Science calls palæolithic and neolithic their centuries without record save that studiously exhumed.

Perhaps their main stock had originally come from the south, from Africa, had settled over inviting peninsulas and gone to the northeast, Troad and Phrygia, and westward along the sea's water ways even to Sicily and Spain. It is possible, an archæologist has suggested, that the western-most settlers had migrated so far back in the years that they journeyed by land from Africa to Italy. In exhumed fragments portrayals of these peoples show that they were a dark-haired, dark-

eyed race; that they had a completely developed, long, well-balanced head and slender, alert body of medium height.

There may have been more than one pre-Hellenic stratum in the population. Greeks of historic days called the mysterious, early peoples of the land Pelasgians, "people of the sea." A historian of theirs, Herodotus, who had an ear for folk tradition and the advantage of us by more than twenty-three hundred years, declared the Pelasgians and Greeks were one. The blood of the early peoples was doubtless a chief element in the historic Greeks'.

Our first record of these evolving peoples, *Ægean* let us call them, is in remains unearthed by learned and earnest delvers—in works when these forerunners of the Greeks were still primitive, during the stage of evolution that made axes and arrowheads, saws, combs and beads of stone. In predatory excursions and fights between clans, bronze came gradually into use for weapons of war. Bronze came to serve also for personal adornment, and with clay utensils for household use. Iron was not yet introduced. But the soil-dweller in that land of a radiant future

had in his bronze a medium which fired his imagination by the possible wonders it put before him. The career of Greek art had in rude way begun.

A distinctive mark of the spirit of these early dwellers was the power of forming an ideal and working material towards its realization—a sense of beauty drawing them toward material, an instinct to express in their works the ideal form they felt. Also a receptivity of the excellence of others' work, but the subduing the foreign element to their own character. Here may have been the origin of that disposition, aptitude, temperament, which grew as the people evolved, until it became a feeling and mental capacity for measure and loveliness, a productive genius which, when its race was fused with another, worked out universal types surpassing all others—a unique sense of beauty which has never filled the soul of any other people.

In rude and archaic decoration of lines scratched in plastic clay we have the testimony of the childlike early workers' hand. Again in vases not unlike in ornament but made upon the rotating wheel. Then, the evolution of the art being unbroken and the

triumph of metal working affecting their ceramics, the adorning more graciously developed by paint upon the buff surface, or by covering the surface with black pigment and drawing on it designs in white and red, and sometimes orange.

At first in their bronze metal this people made instruments for cutting, such as axes and swords. Also, rudely, statuettes or idols. As the centuries passed and the craft became a part of themselves, that is, when complete knowledge of what they could do with their material gave them the spirit of freedom, their work became more shapely and truer, till at last they wrought of bronze, rings, daggers, fibulæ, swords of excelling workmanship and distinction, vessels for ceremonial use; and of gold, buttons, masks, headtire, necklaces and cups before the artistry of which metal workers to-day stand astonished. Their product is not in character ornamental or illustrative: it is ripe art having as its end beauty and truth. Engraved gems also with device of lion, dolphin, ox, goose, chariot, and horse were common in Ægean or pre-Greek centuries as amulets and signets.

In their masonry and later architecture of

vast palaces and tombs these swarming peoples, laboring and building for Greece, show to our eyes how they developed the construction of walls—first building with rough limestone blocks lifted one upon the other without regularity or order, set in clay and strengthened with plaster; then with stones carefully hewn and laid in horizontal courses, the medium being mortar; and third, with polygonal masonry.

The form and perfection of architecture of later Greece is the perfect blossom of an evolution begun in this early age. The graceful strength of the Doric column may fairly be supposed a development of an earlier column; and the distinctive cella of the Greek temple with its forestanding portico, as well as the gable roof above, is doubtless the vestibulum and hall within, and covering of, ruins deemed ancient by the Hellenes. The entrance of the palace found at Tiryns is the plan of the foregate or Propylæa at Athens.

The art of these early Mediterranean peoples was racial and independent, we said. It was not a thing taken on or assumed in cultural affectation or imitation. It was genuinely a product of the gray matter of their

long heads, of their blood warming towards the beauty of the world about them, of their imagination and their sense of form interpreting their religion and their life. It was their overruling endeavor for expressing their adoration and their social feeling—a product of the thought and feeling of their race, however they may have adopted some technical method from contemporaries coming to them across the sea.

Waterfarers brought works from Crete, an island whose folk were doubtless leaders among these Ægeans. Also from Tigris-Euphrates states. They brought crafts out of the south, Egypt. Methods of various workers seafarers brought to the childlike forerunners of the Greeks, and the early peoples took them into their life,—the technic of the eastern and southern artisan, ways of fashioning in clay and metal, carving and engraving stones, the Egyptians' spirals and rosettes and masques, and the Assyrian four-spoked wheel of solar light and eternity—that equilateral cross which we moderns call the Greek cross.

So the Ægean child grew and waxed strong in spirit and the grace of God was

upon him. But he always remained master of his dedication to art. From the grossly rich civilization of the Syrian coast seafarers, smitten with a strangely un-Semitic love of the sea, might enter his settlement, in the pellucid water that washed his land might gather shells for their Phœnician purple dye, might cut timber for shipbuilding in his forest, and mine silver and copper in his earth. They might scatter engraved gems and bring in wares to exchange for raw produce of his land. Still the child was lord and used the activities of his civilization for his own development. His works were fundamental, racial, and not in the spirit of a borrower. They were common to his own world.

The culture and craft embodied in and set forth by the works of this people went variously through Europe—to rugged natives of northern forests, and of the then dark and mysterious region beyond—to the Baltic itself, from which the traders brought south the sea's amber, tears, it was later current, of the sister Heliades after they became graceful poplars, tears wept lamenting their brother Phaëthon. The traders penetrated

even beyond the Baltic of transparent waters to what is now Sweden.

In these earlier centuries, we say, before the god-comrading, heroic age of the Hellenes, the *Ægean* sea was alive with keen sailors from Crete, blood-allies of the Greek mainland dwellers, and alive, also, with Phœnicians coming and going to various lands, carrying their activities as far as Britain and its mines, coasting outside the straits joining the Mediterranean to the Atlantic, perhaps round Africa, and possibly adventuring to the very continent of America. In its homecoming from the west the sea-borne trade may have brought tin for bronze castings—bronze good for weapons of the warrior and for adorning himself and his house. From the east these sailors, whether *Ægean* or Semitic wealth-seekers, fetched not alone works of older civilizations looking to westward outlet—gem-engraving, gold-working, purple-dyeing, textile fabrics, embroideries. From those latitudes they brought also tale and idol of god and goddess, cults of the world's order and disorder which those dwellers in what was to be Hellas took to themselves, and in the unrolling centuries naturalized and humanized and

so suffused with their feeling that the foreign distortion was at last difficult to trace. Thus was the young race tutoring itself and seizing upon all the world of its time could offer.

In some such eager and industrious life as this the vast content of Hellenic art had slow centuries of earth-born life. At these times were the art's germination and cotyledonous outshoot. There was an upspringing vigor, and then for centuries a falling away, but the art had always the later Greek independence and grace in its incipient spirit. Fragments of its beginnings form to-day the sole, surviving material of swarming generations and their handiwork through the hundreds of years those generations lived.

From its modeling in terra cotta and metal work, and also porcelain, this upreaching, pre-Greek civilization is estimated to have had an early splendor in Crete by the middle of the third millennium, and also a renewal about one thousand years later, a renewal, that is, about 1500 before Christ. But dates are uncertain.

In later centuries of this progress the overlord housed his power in walls of gigantic build, and upon a height or perhaps command-

ing a pass for the purpose of levying taxes. Approach to the palace might so lead that an assailant presented his right, unshielded side. Heavy doors admitted to the house. Within, especially of the great hall where noble and retinue met at the seat of public counsel, the walls shone with bronze plates, colored stones and paintings, and possibly with alabaster and glass. When in richest form, the building had upper stories and light-wells, water pipes, bathrooms and drains. All details witness that it was a spontaneous product suited to joint life of fighter and vassal and household, and that its dwellers wished to give to the daily exercise of life elegance and charm.

Then as now the best work of the day wrought warfare weapons—they with unerring art, we with the infinite resources of our science. Then as now women of rich families lived a life often parasitic and guarded. They dwelt in the best-fortified part of the house. Fostered in plenty they clad themselves in garments of gleaming linen and soft woollens stained purple by the famous sea shell. Perhaps they passed their days in embroidering their wear and in weav-

ing tapestries. To enhance their natural looks they adorned themselves with the golden headtire, armbands, rings and earrings at the craftsmanship of which we marvel.

Their estimate of life and of the beautiful this folk signified in the care of their dead. As a part of the universal life, they must persist after death. Their future life prolonged their present, and those who lived in the splendor of the great hall craved like abode in the life to come. Clothing the bodies for eternity, they laid their dead in massive vaults in a hillside. To the burial they brought astonishing treasure. The soul and its felicity survivors must support and preserve. Within the tomb, when it served for a cult to ancestral dead, an altar or some conduit offered the blood of sacrifices, honey, oil or other food by which the shades might strengthen.¹ Because of these tenders the

¹ This old pre-Greek faith in food-offering to invigorate the dead was maintained far through Greek centuries. In classic Athens, at the feast of the Anthesteria, was the "offering of pots" when the people set forth all kinds of seeds to souls of ancestors, invoking fertility through their spirits called back from the other world by the seeming upward trend of life in spring.

dead remained stable friends of the living and gave them counsel.

Presumably the people dwelling near the palace were in some sort of feudal pledge to the family of the great house and the tomb. Countless thousands of workers must have labored at bridge, roadway and drainage building, in grain-field, in olive culture, in vineyard, in cattle-shed, at the loom, at potters' wheel, at bronze smelting vessel and mold, at the spit, at the mill and bread oven of the great house, for their sustenance. Of these myriads upon myriads of toilers throughout untold generations supporting the

Graves at Athens, down to their third century before Christ, show the dead were provided with food and wine. Unquestionably the practice went on later.

To-day the significant custom of such offering is broadly practiced. In Greece food and wine are now buried with those who, as Homer sang, "sleep the brazen sleep," and for three years "the unsleeping lamp" is kept burning by the grave. Among other peoples, in parts of Lithuania for instance, peasants to this day set viands beside the graves of their kin. Lately, in the city of New York, a housemaid daily put aside a plate of food to strengthen the spirit of her brother, who some weeks before had died at her family home in Ireland. The Chinese of Chicago, keeping their "Feast of the Dead," set baskets of roast pig, chicken, duck,

palace family and retinue, and of their living, we have remains in bronze hairpins, knives, rings, brooches, double-headed axes, spearheads, figures of men, women and chariots—offered and dedicated at shrines, for they had no temples—in figurines of stone, ivory, faïence and other material from their burying grounds. But the people endure chiefly in the altruism of their works made in obedience to the power of the nobles. “They maintained the fabric of their world. And in the handiwork of their craft was their prayer.” Their Mother Earth of which they claimed to be the children absorbed their

salted meats and fish, watermelon seeds, cakes and other food by the graves of their countrymen buried there.

And faith in the abiding of souls of the dead in places of burial of the body has appreciably affected life in our own country. Belief that the soul waited the Resurrection Morning in its body’s resting place (a belief migrating from England with generations in manhood with Shakespeare)—such folk-feeling kept many a New England family from “moving west” as a whole. A conviction, feeling rather than any reasoned-out statement, was broad-spread—that of the duty of some member of the family to stay by the relatives’ graves in the old farm, or village burying-ground, to keep dutiful companionship with parents, sister, child, and finally to join them in the same consecrated soil. This sentiment

bodies, and mayhap the immortality of them rested in their Underworld.

That consciousness of a mysterious, vitalizing force in nature which was, for centuries uniting with another people's faith, to produce the exquisite religious personifications of the heroic age, that religious instinct to draw the divine to one's self and explain motion of life in bodies of sky or earth by conceiving an unseen spirit dwelling in the object, informed the soul of this people. A matriarchal religion had sway. The Prin-

seems to imply the faith that an invisible soul, gifted with consciousness, abode near the grave and was gratified by the association.

The sentiment of the Ægean folk of the bronze age that the soul dwelt in the grave and in the remains of the living form, had a logical outcome we are apt to overlook: that therefore from the bones might be gained a grace of spirit that had originally dwelt in the living person. Here doubtless arose the ascription of power to the bones of a notable person, a faith surviving to later Greek centuries. Bones of Orestes, for instance, were removed to Sparta in historic times in order to attract the soul of the hero and help the state to victorious arms. With such faith was united belief in an actual physical effluence, a healing virtue passing to persons and things by contact, the worship of "relics," a sentiment entertained among us to-day.

ciple ruling in their smiling land, the mystery of fecund nature, they personified as a woman. To her unwed was subordinated a son of whom she became the mother by immaculate conception. The earth in divers forms and phases expressed their Great Goddess—Reproductive Fertility, mother of all living things, a Maiden, but with the seed and bearing harvests she became Mother. Other emblems of fertility and generation, such as the bull-man, and snake goddess, doubtless represented minor gods. Symbolic objects, such as horns, trees, axes, crosses and pillars were common in Crete. It is believed no sacerdotalism prevailed. The lord of the stronghold may have been high-priest. From women as ministrants probably descended legends of the Amazons. Every settlement of that Ægean folk had its rites in which its dutiful people praised and worshiped “Our Lady”—Mother Earth and their land’s meed of corn and fruitfulness. The goddess lived into Greek centuries. In Athens she became tutelary in the form of the maiden Pallas Athene, and in other places in forms of Artemis, Aphrodite, Here. At Eleusis she remained Demeter, Earth Mother. Under

other names faith in her and usage of her fertility figure, as of her of the many breasts at Ephesus, persisted to Christian centuries, and still to-day persist in Mediterranean countries.

United with this matriarchal religion there is supposed to have been, at least in the earlier centuries of the period, a domestic life in which house property belonged to the women of the family, and descended from mother to daughter; in relationship the father not being reckoned; sons and brothers going off to serve and marry women who had land in other communities.

Thus many fertile, diligent hundreds of years,—Ægean, pre-Greek—seem to have unrolled. The people's early civilization pressed onward. Remains of their life would testify that they were a peace-loving folk. But those who first fought with knife of stone, and bow and arrow, had come to use lance and dagger and sword in taking life of human opponent, or in leading him to the enslavement of the subdued. The evolution of such an armory needs many generations.

But with that feeling upward or outward, perhaps a forerunner of that sense of race

vocation of which the oncoming Greeks were to be conscious, a new and definite order was slowly prevailing. During centuries some power had been disturbing the ant-like settlements over those broadly separated lands. Their poise was gradually changing. The life-habits of the old people, a people of distinct and rational customs whose influence would long outlast their overthrow and react against their conquerors, were passing. A new folk was coming uppermost, a ruling people doubtless dominant by right of conquest. They possessed a metal through which they forged forward. The age of the use of iron was beginning.

In endless iteration and through thousands of years a tale has told itself—of peoples of the north, obedient to the never-dying longing of northerners for the south, sending toward the sun wave after wave of their children, and conquering. They hold the strength of conquest for a brief day, and then their domination melts in the warmth for whose gifts they left their rugged seats. Those subdued, often of more material ideas than the conquerors, reassert themselves by absorbing their victors' blood. The lords

overcome with the luxury of conquest, forgetful of the idealism or quest of power that made them conquerors, far outnumbered and outweighed by their subjects, die out like all aristocracies, or are lost in amalgamation.

Undoubtedly golden-haired Teutons, whom the ancients called Celts, a mobile, surging, energetic folk, loving dominion and the ordering of dominion, sought Ægean lands and seized upon and in part energized, in part wiped out, the old civilization, the old peace-lovers. The northerners bore their arts with them. Such equipage of life as the heroic kings of Homer's song have in our time been unearthed in Bosnia, in Styria, in Carniola and other countries—armor, weapons and adornment and sepulture indicating the faith of Homer's Achæans.

In other words, during many centuries these Ægean peoples were evolving their characteristic art and life, bands of fair-haired folk clustering perhaps even to the shores of the northern ocean had turned obedient to the call of the south, and again and again had pressed into the regions lighted and warmed by the sun and Ægean

waters. These tribes of the northern and central regions of Europe, primitive, political communities, subject to no law but loyalty to the community and obedience to the community's power, were organized for collective and almost perpetual pugnacity. Among them chronic warfare, by a process of selection, weeded out the less energetic and produced the most war-loving and terrible fighters the world has ever seen. A naming of certain spiritual qualities of theirs is worth impress upon our memory for we shall meet their Germanic characteristics directing Greek life in succeeding times—fundamental considerations of conscientious conduct, a puritan rigor, and a genius for social organization.

Those were the days of the uprootings of peoples. The mountains which practically cap the southlands the adventurers of fortune swept over, bearing oftentimes with them the broad-skulled, brown-complexioned men dwelling on the mountains. Becoming masters of a part of the vine-country of the Ægean, and of its richness, they asserted their lordship. At the end of the slaughter of defending men, the invaders took the

women and children of the settlements they had disrupted and formed a new home, leaders of the freebooters marrying the daughters, or wives, of the native lords.

The northerners had brought with them their patriarchal rule subversive of the old matrilineal system, and their traditions of marriage. Also their northern energy, their spirit of order and of government, and so virile and ingratiating an Aryan speech that they implanted it in their chosen abodes and within the use of the conquered people. They brought also love of the lay, and the bard to make and sing the saga. These people we call Achæans. Their consciousness was destined to form one wing of that uranic spirit we call Greek. Zeus, sky-father, god of the heavens was theirs, and also shining Apollo, the sun. Such divinities succeeded as dominating gods the old Ægean deity, Productive Nature, the embodying of the supreme soul in Mother Earth and in minor gods and symbols.

These events happened when the culture of the pre-Hellenic Ægeans, the hypothetical evolution of which we have bespoken, was at its height. In the great epic age to which

we are coming, we hear of the yellow-haired rulers called Achæans, of their tall stature, of their round shields and bronze greaves and hauberks, of their brooches and other body ornaments, of their use of iron, of the burning of their dead—all evidencing a culture different from and independent of the Ægean.

A people other than the early tribes of the Greek lands had made their way into that country set aside for a splendid development of the human spirit, and themselves master of its population. In this way doubtless came into being the age of the dominant Achæans, feudal lords dwelling, as lords dwelt at the end of the pre-Greek age, their citadel a palace set on a windy height, or in a mountain pass, their vassals and the people they had conquered, the people who swelled their following, dwelling in outlying plain and meadow.

With the new race established in Greece came the use of iron. Doubtless with iron fully developed came more contention, strife, the warlike mood which weapons of the metal support and which was doubtless still in the hearts of the migrators.

HEROIC AGE OF THE GREEKS

Warum waren die aufgeklärten Griechen in der Welt? Weil sie da waren und unter solchen Umständen nicht anders als aufgeklärte Griechen seyn konnten.—HERDER, in *Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit*.

There is wisdom and depth in the philosophy which always considers the origin and the germ, and glories in history as one constant epic. . . .

The demonstration of the advance of knowledge and the development of ideas . . . are the charter of progress and the vital spark of history.—LORD ACTON, in *A Lecture on the Study of History*.

The study of classical literature is probably on the decline; but whatever may be the fate of this study in general, it is certain that . . . attention will be more and more directed to the poetry of Homer . . .

Homer should be approached . . . in the simplest frame of mind possible. Modern sentiment tries to make the ancient not less than the modern world its own; but against modern sentiment in its applications to Homer the translator, if he would feel Homer truly . . . cannot be too much on his guard.—MATTHEW ARNOLD, in *On Translating Homer*.

HEROIC AGE OF THE GREEKS

WE are already within the heroic age of Hellas, an age sung and written of as no other single period in the world's history—an age that stood to later Hellas somewhat as the age of old Germanic epics stands to modern Germanic peoples. From now on we have the people we may refer to as Greek, or Hellenes. They were already, even in this earlier time, so far racially characterized as to show a specific difference between themselves and any other stock.

To comprehend them we must set aside our daily habits of feeling, orienting our minds to their point of view. We must readjust whatever world-weary emotional and intellectual phases we may have. We can approach them only by saturating our consciousness with their early and elemental vigor and their imaginative curiosity and joy.

At the very beginning of their recorded history we find the old Greek what for us he has always remained—a rational creature and the representative of a rational civiliza-

tion. He already loved the splendor of the world, its brilliance, its beauty. He had an exalted joy in living. He revered the human form and the individual being of whom that form was a part. He already had a sense of symmetry, moderation. His art he had already planted in the laws of the beautiful, as his life in the laws of reason. His qualities and his circumstances agreed and he had the inevitable offspring, joyous, optimistic harmony.

Within Hellas, then, and with conditions already set forth, was inaugurated the age we call the Greek epic. In the pages of Homer we view its magnificent panorama. The genuineness of the old poet's record as to events and sources is of least importance. His realism vouches for his absolute delineation of life and manners. His tales of Troy and the heroes and heroines about the town had been handed down among his fellow Ionians, by legend of mouth and by song, long before his genius composed the matchless epic singing the ways of gods to men, and his immortal voice first chanted his lays. Homer came at the end of a period, at the twilight of a long day.

To characterize an age we must consider it under the heads of religion, polity, moral ideas and art. These are the peculiar products of the spirit of a race—like flora and fauna they are determined by soil and climate. They can not be borrowed, as may industry and applied science, without loss of character.

Through thousands of years of the stone and bronze ages progenitors of the Hellenes had been evoking the pantheon of Greece from the phenomena of nature—from the fruitful energy of the soil, the processions of the seasons, the shining expanse of the all-encompassing sky, the virgin splendor of the air, the “all-seeing cyclic sun,” the cavernous darkness of the underworld, the ever-sleepless stream of ocean. Early peoples had stood mystified, revering these appearances before they personified them.¹ All was God to this young humanity passing from the race’s childhood.

¹ The imaginative and poetic mind of the American Indian had this quality. “The red man prefers to believe that the Spirit of God is not breathed into man alone, but that the whole created universe is a sharer in the immortal perfection of its maker.”—DR. CHARLES ALEXANDER EASTMAN in *The Soul of the Indian*.

As to a child to-day inert things had personal attributes. A spirit indwelling under the surface came to the sight of men—in personal forms and as separate and varied as the phenomena of nature. To their loving awe all manifested God—green forests, laughing valleys. Every mountain peak, cave, wind-swept plain and ridge was quick with the divine. An oak might be the home of a god, as at Dodona, and his hallowed voice heard from its leaves and trunk. Dryads haunted woods, and nymphs half-divine yet not deathless animated poplar, pine, laurel, olive, fig-tree, the plane, from their birth in the forest—not only trees but reeds, hyacinths and other growths. And when the day came for the growth to perish, its soul fled from the light of the sun. Water itself had a divinity, the fertility borne by a bubbling spring or a leaping brook, a spirit or naiad. Looking with the imaginative eye, the Hellenes saw gods in swelling and benefactive rivers, and in the stream that sinks below the surface and reappears after flowing underground. Their conceptions they humanized till the grace and beauty and frolic of the beings became real, not an ab-

straction. Nereids and Tritons coming from the sea blew wreathed horns. The pan-psychism of certain philosophers of to-day, a vitalizing of nature, claim of the existence of a world-soul in even lowest forms of nature, a theory of the non-human nature enjoying an interior life—such a faith was the basis of the Hellene's anthropomorphizing tendency.

This primitive god-maker amazed, in wonder before natural causes and gifted with keen senses and lively imagination, feeling in his heart that man is the highest expression of nature, fancied creatures like himself, but larger and more powerful than he, must be behind those appearances. He had not yet become enough of a metaphysician to inquire into the grounds of the sacred awe with which the living forces of a mysterious world inspired him. When his lucid intelligence clothed these forces and the whole body of nature in human form, he gave evidence that he found in them his own spirit, that he was not alien to the all-life, and he recognized his kinship with the world. He showed that in his day and country, man no longer cowered before the powers of nature

as things incomprehensible and strange, a mystery apart from himself.

Even the discriminating reason of man the Hellene came to view as a natural phenomenon, and as a militant and aggressive principle personified it in the gray-eyed daughter of Zeus, Pallas Athene; in its loftier prophetic and æsthetic functions in shining Apollo. And the social unity which formed the hearth by which he sat in homely comfort he enshrined as a goddess. Zeus himself, the god of the bright aether, son of the Ancient of Days—not the Eternal, the Abiding God—was also god of man's upward-striving spirit.²

Seers and prophets of the race, "medicine-men" some writers of to-day delight to name them, had shaped certain gods in dim outline in far-back ages, in the Urzeit of the Hellenes and their kindred peoples. Outlines of

² A present-day evangel speaking of "the ideal power with which we feel ourselves in connection, the 'God' of ordinary men," curiously re-echoes Greek conceptions. "We can experience union with *something* larger than ourselves and in that union find our greatest peace," wrote Mr. James in "The Varieties of Religious Experience." "This *something* need not be infinite, it need not be solitary. It might conceivably be only a larger and

sundry Greek gods existed in the pantheon of races akin to the Greeks. Apollo, the sun-god, Zeus-pater, sky-father and sometimes spirit of fertility, were common to many.³ But the divinities were amorphous; they had no definite lines or ethical qualities. The peculiar product of the imagination of the early day of the Greeks was the definite, vigorous, vivid, human-like, living forms of their gods—their bringing the divine element within the comprehension of their folk-mind, their ensouling mysteries of nature and of man's spirit in human form.

As their civilization advanced the early personifications of the race, as would happen more godlike self . . . and the universe might conceivably be a collection of such selves. . . . Thus would a sort of polytheism return upon us. . . . I think, in fact, that a final philosophy of religion will have to reconsider the pluralistic hypothesis more seriously than it has hitherto been willing to consider it." The eminent naturalist, Alfred Russel Wallace, has set forth a not unsimilar conception as "in harmony with the universal teaching of Nature."

³ "First there is the earth, and the sun, and the stars, and the whole universe, and the goodly order of the seasons, and the divisions into years and months; and that all Hellenes and barbarians alike consider them to be gods," wrote Plato in his "Laws."

from the associative laws of mind, grew more and more in definite human attributes—in the veins of the exalted physical beings ichor, not blood, would flow, and rather than the pleasures of mortals' offerings, they would enjoy their own peculiar food of nectar and ambrosia. And in the process of making the conception personal and genial—in the humanizing metamorphosis, the forming an ideal of humanity—divinities would gain a history, which is to say the popular mind would endow them with action and passion. If we recall that the Greeks' gods had natural appetites, we must also remember that natural appetites were regarded by that people whose life was moderated with awe for limit and horror at exaggeration and impiety, whose axioms of moral and physical self-limitation became laws of conduct quoted for centuries and to this day—natural appetites were regarded more noble by those ancient children of out-of-doors and out-door phenomena than by peoples to-day. Hand in hand with their anthropomorphism commonly went ethical promptings against excess.

The dim, great might of nature shines

through the radiant forms of Homer's gods. But in his heroes, too, we feel the pulsing of those very powers. Both gods and men are the children of one unsearchable source of life. Mysticism, enthusiasm, penance, have no place in this world. Man adores his radiant ideals as naturally as he gladdens in the light of the sun. There is no sense of sin—haunting consciousness of moral imperfection and apartness from God. Eyes are fixed on this world and the heroic Hellenes are face to face with the invisible.

In their joyous sense of life, psyche, *ψυχή* or soul, receded. The active and actual absorbed them. Peoples of the north in climatic pressure of frost and fog, and forced to long periods of inaction, found vent of energy in introspection which brought immortality near. Not so the early Hellene. Ionia which produced his epic song had the softest and mildest climate of all Greece, said Herodotus. The sun stirring the Hellene's purple sea, and impelling his broad-bosomed earth to her bounty, lifted him out of imaginings about another life, and made his after world a shadowy thing. His soul would cross Oceanus or Styx in its passage to the "cold"

and "mouldering" kingdom of the dead, Erebus, ruled over by Hades and Persephone. There among the "people of the earth" his life would be a spectral copy of what he found here.

These people often burned their dead, in this custom perhaps preserving the needs of the early northern migrators, who, passing through densely wooded countries, must burn in order to preserve the body from outrage and dishonoring mutilation. For because of the possessions the marauders had seized, the resident folk would be fiercely vindictive. Then too there were the devouring creatures of the wild.

The burning of the body shows the idea prevailed of a separate abode for the spirit. The soul will never return to its earthly substance. But until the burning it flits between its late dwelling and the invisible world below. Fire, the purifier, immaterial matter, detaches the soul from its corporeal cover and bears it to yonder world. "Thou dost sleep, O Achilles, and hast forgotten me," cries the soul of the beloved Patroclus; "not in my life but in my death hast thou been unmindful of me. Bury me that I may pass

the gates of Hades, when thou hast given me my due of fire." The slaying of twelve Trojan youths at the funeral rites of Patroclus may have been a survival of the faith, to which we have already referred, of strengthening with blood a soul that had passed to the infernal deities.

To the Elysian fields and ends of the earth the gods translated a favored few, "where golden-haired Rhadamanthus dwells, where life is easiest for mortals; no falling snows there, nor lingering winter, nor storm, but ever the airs of the western wind breathing softly to lift the souls of men."

The soul as well as the body of the Greeks is in their myths of the gods. To the plastic genius of those Hellenes more than to any other people the world was alive. To them, because of their active minds, their creative energy, the vigor of their imagination, it was given more than others to stamp their race spirit and genius upon early products. Already in Homer the Greeks were idealists.

Approach to the great gods was open to all by sacrifice and prayer—that is, by gift and petition. Each human child might come direct to his divinities, calling by name upon

that god whose help he felt he needed. The offering was a bribe, not so much in thanks for favors past, but as even now among the more primitive-minded of us, a gift to change the holy one's hostility to the petitioner's desires. Prayer was to him an asking. Lifting cleansed hands and arms frankly to heaven in manner of a petitioner, the Greeks prayed standing. No servile genuflexion, no oriental salaam prostrated his body. His sense of human worth permitted no abnegation nor concealing himself with a veil in the presence of his divinity. The Hellenes found no opposition to a supreme power in their fresh, god-given life, and needed no mediator between themselves and the infinite.

No sacerdotal caste flourished. There were indeed servants of the gods who declared the gods' will to men. Probably their service had evolved from the magic-efforts of the earlier wonder-worker or medicine-man. But now the servants spoke through the gift of a God-consciousness clearer than that of other men's—that was the ground of the reverence borne him—not by the privilege of a caste. Certain families possessed the exclusive exercise of certain rites, and occasional priests

and priestesses had the keepers' charge of temples and chanted liturgies. The office of these men and women was sacred, but their persons only when engaged in the service of the shrine. Association between shrines was not organized, and the priests never came to the strength of a corporate union. They were not given an esoteric training that set them mentally apart from their people. It is evident that they were not ordained to their function by any elaboration. They had small compelling influence. They had no entrance to the private life of the family. They were not guiders of women or teachers of youth. They were not necessary in war. They were not theologians—the poet or rhapsodist was that. Even in this epic age the Greek guarded his intellectual independence.

Thus the Greek of the heroic age lived in a world of mysterious origin made beautiful and near to him by the companionship of splendid, immortal gods. They gave him all fair things—wisdom, righteousness, courage, beauty, food, well-being. Unrestrained religious feeling saturated his every task, every joy, every institution of life. The immortal was ever near to “start upon the soul in

sweet surprises." "All men need the gods," said Homer. Their power was a shield between the Hellene and the inscrutable forces from which he and they had sprung. They were a defense from ill. They fought in men's battles and guided men's voyagings. Without their help nothing could prosper. Men and gods belonged to a common society. All wrought for a common end. Their powers differed. The immortals, like the people's group life, were deathless.

Gods found it sweet and no loss of honor or dignity to accept human reverence and homage, and to share men's feasts and men's sports. In return for their bounty mortals venerated the gods and offered them gifts and food. Immortals in a presence shared every meal. This might have been, doubtless was, a survival of a usage from primitive times when, since food is the main support of life, sacraments took the form of a meal.

Every slaughter was an offering and every meal a feast with a god. The ways of human kind were good for the gods' association and the earth for them to go about upon. They loved the community. Without the gods' membership the group is not thinkable.

Nor were the gods without the group's loyalty.

Lordly ancestors the gods were often esteemed—broadly, in evolutionary view, that in fact they were, a product of the community's spirit and in reaction the community of the gods'—and their interest in the lives of men might lie in their character of progenitors. "Father Zeus!" often cries Homer, "Father of men and immortals!" And centuries after this heroic epic, Pindar sang of the race of gods and men, "from one mother we both draw breath of life." Plato later still embodied these conceptions when he wrote, "Wise men say that one community embraces heaven and earth and gods and men and friendship and order and temperance and righteousness, and for that reason they call this whole a universe."

What a luster it cast upon the race to be the children—not the creatures—of their divinities! The mysterious tie of nature and of the community, older even than the gods, bound gods and men together. Gods and men formed an organized social unit. Duties to, and rights of, men factored as well as duties to and right ways toward gods. We

must enter into the sentiment deeply if we would realize the loftiest elements of the heroic consciousness.

Such was the heroic Greeks' religion—a nexus of imagination and feeling and thought, rudimentary, wrought out by race wonder-workers, race thinkers and race poets; a growth, we must remember, before recorded history, one of those instances in evolution when sound conclusions come from false premises, a more perfect form unexpectedly develops from the imperfect. It was old and taking on decay even at Homer's singing. In its substance we have the race's sense of beauty, their feeling of the closeness of nature—its very parenthood to them—the effervescing imagination of the one who sees the world anew, and the foreshadowing groping for the moral solution of life with which the Hellenes' later works were so completely saturated. Studying this early religion sympathetically, we see how in the radiant, dissolving forms of immortals the very emotions and ideas of our religious feeling of to-day—feeling which we are now apt to chain under the hardened crust of dogma—then played generously and freely. A spirit sin-

gle, omniscient, omnipotent, inaccessible, too remote for his intimacies and communion was afar from the Greek's conception.

The heroic Greek's state was nothing distinct from his religion. It was the rule of a king, or feudal lord or chief of clan. Perhaps he was a son of a god, or of a strange, strong man from the north. Socially he may have been descended from a primitive practitioner of magic or other religious office for the benefit of the group. If his evolution were such, in making it he had needed to be able, acute, acquisitive of authority and riches, realizing the force he had acquired through prestige of knowledge of the divine and capable of carrying that prestige to politics. Whatever his growth, he was esteemed more nearly descended from Poseidon or Zeus than his people. The subject mass could not have such legends of descent. Therefore traditions in later times would conflict; voicing the old *Ægean* people they would speak of "earth-born men," again of men as sons of the chief god or as creatures of Prometheus. The genuine Greek creed is doubtless that which makes the ancestor of the race a son of Zeus.

Thus it came that the divine chief, or king, was an oracle of justice—Homer said he had a Zeus-given scepter—and the source of authority in preserving the principles and laws custom had established. But among the Hellenes this prestige could not degenerate into an absolutism. Gods themselves were not infallible; much less their sons. The traditions of the race, and precedent of the law, the utterance of their prophets, and will of the council of elders and of the whole people were forces not to be set aside by the royal word. We behold the heroic Greek even in war deliberating upon their common interest, the people present and expressing their approval or disapproval—the germ of their democracy to come. Even then it was Greek to be master of one's situation, of one's self; nothing must be withdrawn altogether from the determination of common reason. The Greeks' religious consciousness posits as a necessity for all time political independence. Zeus took away half of a man's virtue when days of slavery laid hold of him, said Homer.

Every government is founded upon an original democracy. That later analyst of Greek politics, Aristotle, conceived the origin

of the Greek monarchy in a reward to some well-worker of the people, out of loyalty continued to his offspring. In Homeric song the king was king by the free consent of the governed, whether he was lord of a city of rural habits, or chief of a more open valley clan. His functions were not arbitrary. Rather his strength was indefinite—unconfined by limits. His constitutional rights, his headship founded on social sentiment, physical as well as mental prowess must support. He represented the collective action and emotion of his people before the gods and offered prayer at a large sacrifice—a tribal meal with some god. He was leader in war. For such services he received tributes of cattle, the honor part of the booty, a portion of land, and other rich gifts. His council of elders was of men reputable and experienced, already past the age of the flourishing warrior. They sat at meat with the king, advised with him upon the common weal and with him determined disputes about property—mainly property because thievery caught in the act met punishment by death without trial, and the revenge of murder lay with the family.

The state in this stage of the national life had not been the subject of reflection and had no formulated object. It was doubtless a growth from primitive groupings for protection, a loosely united clan, a free union of the people, rather than a working, ordered, corporate thing,—an order justified by the majesty of itself and the economic needs of the day. The rule of heroes was a necessity, if not for those governed, at least for the full manifestation of the heroic character.

But most important for determining the true index of an age, namely, its conception of the worth of life, what things are desirable, and what are their conditions: The Homeric Greek seldom reflected on life, but lived with a sense peculiar to himself. He could not comprehend his existence as involving any moral aim, any tragical nodus or complication. There was a retribution, a nemesis, which followed the violation of an ordered world, but it was external and a not unavoidable evil if the trespasser had but heroic might. Responsibility for wrong-doing was often laid at the door of Ate—blind, deluding, ruinous Folly who abode among men and glided with light feet over the heads

of mortals. Wrong-doing was infatuation of mind—of the intellect and appealing to the intellect. The doer of wrong was not responsible for his deed, his mind had become darkened, he was the victim of circumstances, or of Ate, or other of the gods! Right, order, precedent, custom, dike, *δίκη*; she who apportions things to mortals and of whom men expect justice, is strong beyond hybris, *ὑβρις*, wanton violence, brute strength, lawlessness, disregard of the rights of others, a companion of surfeit. Cowardice and the want of natural affection are shameful, and that because they have no force and confuse the order of life.

To our view of those times, there is now and then uttered a melancholy upon which we moderns have turned glasses of analysis. Such lines as Homer's "The gods spun the thread of destiny for unhappy men to live grieved at heart," and "There is nothing more miserable than man of all that breathes and creeps upon the earth," sympathetically crystallize a sentiment alive even in early Hellenic faith. Such enunciations are, however, in the proportion of one to thousands of adolescent delight. They are a natural

reaction, the undertone, the low note showing how the heroic Hellenes knew the pain of mortal life, its baffling complexities, the mystery of its discords and distress. Homer sang the truth of his day, and sadness the truth must know. The striations only make the sunlight of joy that floods the whole heroic time all the clearer. Youth does not concern itself with sorrow, and melancholy in youth is morbidity. The heroic Hellenes were youths.

Again that epic "envy of the gods" of which the old poet sang, for instance when Penelope after the return of Odysseus says, "The gods gave us trouble, the gods jealous that we should abide together and joy in our youth and come to the threshold of old age;" and the gods' deception of men by false appearances and by lies, are sentiments paralleled in the primitive beliefs of other races—for instance in the race of Israel. The "envy" contains within its fable endeavors of youth to explain dæmonic force shaping human life, the complexity of the moral law which he feels and sees at work in the world about him, and to find his limitations and place within those laws—rudimentary fore-

runners of the endeavor phrased in our Old Testament "walking humbly with God."

The world to the heroic Hellene was full of wonders to employ the curiosity, and of prizes to engage the ambition of all who had the strength of mind to seek them. To be rich and strong and beautiful and wise, a friend of the gods, to have seen the wonders of distant lands and the ways of foreign men, were the aims of life. But this was all. There was no suspicion or feeling of the unsatisfactory character of these things. A simple recognition of one's talents or power was sufficient. Morbid self-love requiring the refinements of flattery and advertisement was to develop in a later day. There was no desire for self-culture nor for the conviction and consciousness of rectitude. It was enough if one realized one's aim in the world. A man was considered a force, not a soul, a beautiful, heroic energy accomplishing a passage through the world in bold and graceful ways. A prosperous life, well-rounded and crowned with years and honor, was a spectacle not different from the sinking of the sun and its majestic light to the western horizon. The event of a young life checked in its heroic

course had deepest pathos because it meant the defeat of strength and beauty.

Reverent fear, *aidos*, *αἰδώς*, was the very flower of the moral consciousness of this age. It is a feeling lost in Christian centuries, and difficult to revive even sufficiently to comprehend its nature. It was the instinct of proportion, of self-limitation, which preserved the Greek from all excess. Through it he shrank from any unlimited utterance of himself, not only toward his fellow men but also toward the divine who punish excess. This one sentiment was his modesty—it kept him to well-considered action and saved him from self-assertion; his piety; his awe; his loyalty—it saved him from desecration and boasting; his filial and family feeling; his honor—it moved him to reverence and sympathy for the helpless and to estimating wrong to them unpardonable. It was a shrinking self-repression evading a violation of eternal justice, moral indignation at presumptuous deed, the Hellene's recognition of the universal conscience and awe for those eternal guardians of the law of righteousness comprehended in the goddesses sovereign of the very gods, the omnipotent *Mœræ*, Fates. Springing from

the depths of Hellenic consciousness of life and contemplation of life's order, *aidos*, reverent fear, was to the epic Greek what faith in the Eternal was to the Jew. It was the core of the Greeks' religious feeling and as a holy energy infused his life, his art. *Aidos* is the antithesis of *hybris*.

What the art of such an age must have been is clear. It could not in large phases manifest itself in plastic ideals because it conceived life as significant only in its activity. Moving impression was everything, minute attention to the elements of things, nothing. Painting therefore could not flourish. Architecture subserves either the ostentation of despotism, the ritual of mysticism, luxury and opulence, or, as later in Greece, gives expression to a sense of the beautiful so cultivated by reflection that it delights in the harmonies of geometrical forms. Music is the child of meditation, the voice of the spirit considering within itself the wonders, the joys and sorrows of life. Than music nothing could be further from the genius of heroic Greece. Lyric poetry is a later birth by reason of its subjectivity.

Such an age as the heroic age of Greece,

gifted with the race's mold of spirit, with the race's feeling for art in the power of words, and with a graceful, flexible speech approaching perfection in its form, a language of wonderful resource in shading its meaning,—an age like this, conscious of the gift of words yet centering on the doer of deeds, must delight in the narrative of events, sung in fluent and stately meter, clothed in all the color of life. Epic poetry is the product of this age; no other age has ever produced the genuine epic song. Broad, bright, moving pictures finished to the last degree but not encumbered by inanimate detail—such are the rhapsodies of Homer. The shining of spears and waving of plumes fill the *Iliad* with life, and the keen, salt air of the sea blows through the romantic pages of the *Odyssey*. Nothing in nature was trivial or mean in the eyes of the old poet. Everything enjoys its ornamental epithet.

And the days they broadly lived, those typical men and women—their social and mannerly human life, their piety, their natural dignity, their restraint, their courage and bravery, their warfare, their travel and their open politics, their dwellings, the magic tri-

pods hammered by a god's hands, their youth's delight in exquisite work of woven peplum and in precious material, their shining, high-wrought armor—frankly stand before us to-day and tell the measure of their adolescent joys. “Ewig jung allein ist Phantasie.” Their imagination seized beauty in tectonic crafts inherited from the old Ægean days, and feasted as that of a child.

The epos was the reality of the spirit of the time. In Homer's poems the Hellenic race was itself reflected and became conscious of its ideals. In Homer the Hellenes first came to know themselves. The poet took their early race conceptions, their beliefs and traditions, their modes of looking at life, and made them the fountain and stream of his song. He summarized the race's past—the Iliad is the tale of the battle of the Achæans fighting their way to adventurous wealth.

But that which he created reacted powerfully upon the national mind. The human life the verses mirrored led the Hellenes to train their youth upon its conduct, upon its embodied keywords for life conduct. The Iliad's pan-Hellenism taught race-consciousness; for instance, when Greeks advanced to

battle "longing in their soul to support one another," "so the clan shall succor clan, and tribe, tribe." It held a moral as well as a literary education. Through centuries coming later, and far into the imperial times of Rome, Homer's poems stood as a Bible—that is, the songs were to the Greeks as the Bible and its word of God-in-the-world have been to the modern Christian community. It comprehended as well an encyclopædia of science and arts and genealogy. Homer's Iliad denoted their race and fatherland in youngest manhood.

The blind poet, to repeat, invented no story. He took race sagas, time-honored tales of Troy, and lays embodying traditions of the old civilization, and wrought them into rhapsodies, casting them in perfect form and stamping them with the process of a great creative mind. He sang to such assemblies as filled the houses of chief, king and lord, to their wives, daughters and retainers. Perhaps also he sang to frequenters of popular festivals whither throngs had journeyed to honor some god of the race. And long after his day, at great festivals of Athens, relays of bards chanted the Iliad and Odyssey.

He sang of the eternal powers, of human deeds and men's and women's lives. His introduction of their earth's places, sea-coasts and currents, and land and sea winds, must needs fit themselves to fact and be true not only to the event he would narrate, but also to his hearers' taste and life and knowledge. He sang to bring his listeners the delight of larger vision of men and of the world, and the delight also of a perfect art. He sang with the warmth and intensity of a mighty seer. To this day the ear of man has never become weary of listening to his silver tones. Nor has the mind of man lost amaze at his poetic fire and splendid diction. He was the first Hellene who, it has been said, voiced his race's courage and unconquerable will to penetrate life and set it forth as an intelligent order. He is, at least, the first of whom we know.

Joy is the keynote of Homer, joy in a brilliant, beautiful world. His people, especially his men, idealized self-reliant beings, choose a brief and active life in the world to droning, unlaborious days in the quietude of home. Here on this earth is man's theater of action. After this the unseen world, Hades, and it

were better, the wraith of Achilles declared from the midst of the shades, here on earth to serve some man of mean estate than to dwell with all who have gone down to death.

Homer exalted nobles and kings and their business, war. The people, toilers and up-builders who supported the destroyers and idlers, could labor and listen and yield to the overlord's decision. But it is, in fairness, worth noting in the measure we have taken of these epic Hellenes, and of their innate humanity, that nowhere in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* are such pictures of narrowness, hardness and inhumanity as are painted in the Hebrew epos of patriarchal life and the Law—and in times supposed to synchronize with the times the Greek poems portray.

Mutations in those old centuries we can with no sureness visualize. Between the old civilization of Homer's song and the new about to be born was a shifting of races—of that at least we may be certain. Experiences must have been manifold and prolonged, the pain of the world-spirit caustic, to change the social consciousness of the Hellenes from the life portrayed by this earliest epic of theirs we know.

After the close of the age of Homer's story, uniting that age with the age to come, another epic singer and an Æolian Greek, belonging perhaps to another prehistoric minstrel school, tuned his lyre to a wholly different key. He himself and his hearers, all with the staid, sad heart of earth-workers, had lost heroic enthusiasms. Some great impelling force, a force we find in the democracy of the coming age, was beginning to make its way and direct the thoughts of men.

Hesiod told of the inherent dignity of labor—of planting, sowing, reaping, of winter storms and the bearing on corn-planting of the spring rainfall, of the cry of crane and sparrow, of the cutting of vines, of the leafing of trees, the threshing of corn, of the vintage, of thrift and diligence—an early Greek Thomas Tusser in his plain, shrewd, cautious, homely saws, not forgetting the crusty fling at women such natures commonly nurture, a "Poor Richard" it has been said, a singer who learned by his own experience in a lawsuit to declare how much more the half is than the whole, and how blessed a man might be upon a diet of mallows and leeks—"That man is best who is most laborious"; who has

judgment about the birds (their song, their coming and going habits explaining increase and decline of the seasons), and who shuns overstepping of the (moral) laws; "In front of virtue the gods set work and the sweat of the forehead." Practice virtue, not necessarily for virtue itself but for the sake of the results of the practice. In this teaching the poet's evolution is similar to that of Leviticus and Deuteronomy, and rises at times to the standard of the Proverbs and the Wisdom of Solomon.

Hesiod was a true child of his tribe which obtained the sovereignty of Bœotia after that subversion we call the Trojan war—a vigorous, hardy people whose minds rarely soared beyond the body's needs, a people, nevertheless, who brought from northern Pieria to Mount Helicon the ancient worship of the Muses and centuries later produced Corinna and Pindar. Instead of Homer's abandon to the shining, shifting, broad epic world dissolving and disappearing about him, Hesiod struggles with reality, with the set bounds of the small farmer in the iron age in which he lives, when wrong is rampant and the great devour bribes and give crooked judgment.

The golden age and the gentle bronze age for mortals have passed. In Elysian Fields and Islands of the Blessed may be some relief for the ills of earth.

Not a brilliant, imaginative, objective, but a subjective world, the thoughts of himself, this Bæotian shepherd chiefly sings. Nowhere is poetry his sole aim. Didactics, practical wisdom embedding proverbs of possibly earlier singers on every-day affairs of life, ethical precepts, and teachings about the gods are his work. The Olympians of Hesiod are further away from human habitations than in Homer's song. "No prophet among men," he sang, "shall know the mind of ægis-bearing Zeus," son of Time. His Theogony telling of the genesis of the world and the origin of the gods embodies passages of elevation and dignity. "First of all was Chaos: then came the broad-bosomed Earth, the stable resting place of all things; and gloomy Tartarus in the depths of the Earth; and Eros, fairest of the immortals."

The poems foreshadow ideas of the new, opening age, and it seems impossible that Hesiod was ignorant of the coming cult of Orphism. But in the Theogony he so sang

the old legends of the gods that the poem came in later Greece to be esteemed a code of the race's early religious conceptions. It formed a dogma—but under Greek conditions was without the seclusion and exclusive interpretation of priests.

**BURGEONING DEMOCRACY; ITS
PURITANISM; ITS ART**

In Greece the universality of human life and thought, of human civilization, let me say the true idea of man, first came into appearance; the full development of individualism, and with it the true freedom of man, in all the relations which we comprise under this word, morally, politically, intellectually, artistically, were created spontaneously at first in Greece and only in Greece.—EDUARD MEYER, in *The Development of Individuality in Ancient History*.

(GREECE SPEAKS)

O Earth . . .

I am she that made thee lovely with my beauty

From north to south:

Mine, the fairest lips, took first the fire of duty

From thine own mouth.

Mine, the fairest eyes, sought first thy laws, and knew
them

Truths undefiled;

Mine, the fairest hands, took freedom first into them,

A weanling child.

—SWINBURNE, in *The Litany of Nations*.

To the Ancients however the aim of the agonistic education was the welfare of the whole, of the civic society. Every Athenian for instance was to cultivate his Ego in contest, so far that it should be of the highest service to Athens. . . . The youth thought of the welfare of his native town when he vied with others in running, throwing or singing; it was her glory that he wanted to increase with his own. . . . Every Greek from childhood felt within himself the burning wish to be . . . an instrument for the welfare of his own town.—FRIEDRICH NIETZSCHE, in *Homer's Contest*.

BURGEONING DEMOCRACY; ITS PURITANISM; ITS ART

PASSING OF THE MONARCHY: CONSTRUCTIVE INDIVIDUALISM

THE beautiful youth of Hellas, the Greek heroic age, faded in the gloom of an indefinable period of which we know nothing, not even its durance—in immense political convulsions which accompanied the emergence upon the foreshore of the great Greek division that the Hellenes called Dorian. That other general division, the versatile, imaginative, fluid, seafaring Ionians—Javan of “the Isles afar off” says the Hebrew Isaiah writing about the beginning of this new age of Greece—that lively, impassioned, sunlit folk susceptible of most delicate impressions, isolated, disunited and broken with feuds, the Ægean Ionians had their complementary character in Dorians so-called, perhaps the most persistently warlike of all the hardy northern incomers, who, in the darkness of the indefin-

able centuries, sallied from their highlands and made themselves masters—masters who revered a severe spirit, who had the striking constancy of character and solemnity of thought of country dwellers, who scorned the effeminacies of art and the democratization of trade, who subjected all that came within their reach to their notions of right and of civil government, who knew but two passions—war and a religion identified with pride of and loyalty to race.

The Dorians roused in Greece a spirit far more rugged, less extended but far deeper than that which mirrored Homer's picture-loving song. With them a re-formation of spiritual poise established itself. Greek Puritans were invigorating the national spirit. The age of the emancipation of the individual is now coming on. Much of the old mediation of the king, that primitive consciousness that found group-feeling and group-thinking necessary, is now passing away. Each man would enter into direct relations with the world. The lord of men, the old royalty, is in some cities overthrown. Even the very limited power of the king came to seem to the people, now fully Hellenic, an immoral

form of government inasmuch as it failed in moderation, self-limitation, forced itself upon separate, individual beings, opened the way for visitation of retribution—from power and wealth spring satiety, from satiety foolishness, offense, crime.

The politics of the time undergo a striking evolution, varying in form and even in method of development. Cities are springing forward and their growth marks the individuality of men. It is worth noting here that in the little land of Palestine during the eighth and seventh centuries before Christ, as Amos and Hosea and Isaiah make clear, a struggle went on for the recognition of the conscience of a single individual.

In many Greek city-states, as time passes oligarchs establish themselves. They supersede the king and absorb his function of administration to themselves. They are chiefs who served as councilors to the dispossessed king, or nobles claiming descent from the mighty men of old, the interpretation of the law and the exercise of some religious rite. They embody the first political expression of the new order in its change from the old. The people are free, but still without active

political rights. Their evolving consciousness of separateness or individualism the aristocracies doubtless appeased by occasionally calling together their general assembly. But the assumption of the oligarchs bore home to farmer and artisan, and to the new order created by development of commerce, the lesson that the functions of administering government were not sole prerogatives of a heaven-descended king, but rather a power that could be granted by law and directed to certain ends.

The state had become a more complicated thing than in Homeric song. Sense of apartness, rudimentary individualism, growing capacity for self-control or law-abidingness, was able to reason that if nobles could supersede the king of the heroic age, should not also the assembly of citizens in which rested the ultimate source of authority of the state? Here was not only the democratic idea in strong force, but feeling of membership of the state, fellowship in a common government and the duties it involves—the state is a rational order which men must have for a tolerable and complete life.

Constructive, progressive, promotive, gifted

with imagination and reason, the mind and will of the Hellene worked out in some such development its consciousness of political right. In its process the struggle between nobles, rich in inherited prerogatives and material belongings, and the emerging peoples was fairly before the world.

During this progress, however, there intervened the setting up and brilliant rule of those liberals known as tyrants or despots—men who posed as defenders of simpler men against the rapacity of the oligarchs. There was now in the growing towns a sturdy commons, and, in the country, farmers of free mind who had faith in inborn rights. In various ways, by force of seizing the city's acropolis through hired troops, by wile of proclaiming himself champion of the people in injustices they had suffered at the hands of exploiters, the new overlord, oftenest from the oligarchs whom he endeavored to dispossess, held his absolute power and asserted the civic unity of the elements of the state. He tranquillized factional feelings by meeting their divisions. Commonly his government was an excess of paternalism; his court a center of all his time's splendor in art and

literature; his benefactions and public gifts most lavish and magnificent. The Peisistratidæ, for example, tyrants in Athens even after Solon's time, set up the flowing recital, by minstrel at the pan-Athenaic festival, of the Iliad and Odyssey in their completeness. In architecture they began to the honor of Zeus Olympius a temple whose fragments, though belonging to a much later century, beautify Athens to-day.

Only extreme conditions of the old feudalism during under ideas evolved by new orders coming to the fore, by fresh blood and a new point of view of life spreading through Greek lands, permitted the tyrants' hold during the generations they continued. Mouthing interest in the people, yet seeking to gain the strength of the executive power which the oligarchs by their robberies had weakened, the tyrants eased civil strife, kept Greek social foundations from severest shock and bridged the break between the old ideas and oncoming democracy. Now as at all times the people formed history—the body of the people ever ready for self-sacrifice, to give life and property to their country. A few with the instinct, or avarice, or corruption,

of leaders suggested and endeavored to guide. At times the Greek despot proved what his name signified in centuries then to come.

“All Hellas in early times,” says Thucydides, “was in a state of migration.” The Ionians were especially mobile; inroads of peoples from the north may have kept them unstable. In the great human flux of these centuries many Ionic Greeks settled the coast of Asia Minor and developed rich cities which later focused civilizations far surpassing in luxury the motherland’s. They also evolved a great citizen class which enjoyed unheard-of felicity; “The middle classes are best off in many ways,” said Phocylides, a gnostic poet of Miletus.

Hellas was not in exactness a geographical expanse. It bespoke spiritual possessions. It had meant in religious worship certain traditions and rites projected by race consciousness, in art an excellence, in character a moderation and independence. It was coming to mean in political life a constitution.

In these centuries of political inorganicity discontent ruled everywhere. Old homes became narrow. As the leaves of the forest, so are the generations of men, sings Homer;

leaves that be, the winds scatter upon the ground, but blooming woods, when spring-time comes, put forth other anew. Greek peoples had waxed. Legends of fair, favored lands beyond the seas tickled willing ears and ardent imaginations. Those more curious intellectually, and more adventurous and physically energetic, stirred for broader spaces.

Greece swarmed with colonies that carried her children and her burgeoning heritage over the Mediterranean, dotting the shores of the Euxine, to the neighborhood of that now called Crimea, and the Propontis as well as *Ægean*, with settlements. They fared along the sea's water ways founding Cumæ, Tarentum, Sybaris and Croton, Cyrene, *Marseilles*, and entered upon the luxuriant fertility of Sicily, then as now a home of nature's lethal forces which sometimes wake and turn and shudder—forces which the immigrants to Gela and Syracuse and other Hellenic towns, with penetrating imagination personified as a discomfited giant, "cliffs press down his hairy breast and a pillar of heaven holds him fast, even hoary *Ætna*, nurse of sharp snows through all the year." Wherever they settled they bore in, in sign of

spiritual unity, sacred fire from the hearth of their mother city, and the worship of Apollo, keeper of the civic life of their old home and kindler of illuminating thought in the darkness of neighboring barbarians.

The colonists' life of essaying the mighty task of home and settlement building gave those Greeks of ancient days, as it has in these late centuries of ours given modern colonists, a buoyancy, an openness and receptivity of mind, a susceptibility to the influence of new ideas, and a readiness for opportunity and zeal in experimentation, which led the people often to outstrip those they had left behind. The first elegiac and lyric poets of whom we know were in the eastern settlements. Philosophy found an early home at Miletus and among the Hellenes of Italy and Sicily. The first excellent dramatists were western Sicilians.

Between these daughter colonies and their mother cities Hellenes journeyed continually, thus adding to the keen wit of their nativity the eye-opener of travel. Because of a common alliance of blood, or for civic needs, they visited the oracle of Apollo at Delphi or other religious uses, they fared to the national

games, their festivals in poetry, music and disciplined skill of body. Their travel by water way meant the need of larger and more seaworthy boats. Thus colonization stimulated mechanics of boat-building. And with navigation must go better knowledge of astronomy and mathematics. Allied arts and crafts advanced. Stamped coins as standards of value came to displace old estimates, such as the Homeric measure by armor.

Through this progress of commerce democracy gained much. Language also, that marvelous speech of theirs, was developing its fitness for public discussion of interests of state. Speakers felt the need of argument, and in effort to explain and persuade, power of expression was growing among the people. The ethical and philosophic thinker, the gnostic speaker, at this time also increased the language by whittling out those life-conduct maxims with which the Hellene was so splendidly equipped.

But on nearly every side, in the west in Sicily, as in Agrigentum, in cities of the Asia Minor coast, in Miletus, among the Ionian islands, as Samos, was the despot, the benevolent organizer, the force all social elements

recognized or submitted to in gaining a new recasting, in bringing social order to independence. Not in Sparta, however, the completest political embodiment of the Dorian character. In the compact aristocracy of that city-camp, the accredited founder of which was the legislator Lycurgus, two kings reigned together in not distinctly lined functions. There the government was an oligarchy in which the power of the ephors was little modified by the council of elders and the agora of citizens. All free men were soldiers. Spartan law forbade the Spartan proper learning a mechanical trade or artistry. The productive class and the craftsmen, those laboring and supplying necessities, a race of serfs, had no political rights.

In the Athens of these days the king disappeared by the shearing of the priest part of his office of basileus, and naming him archon for life. To name him chief archon for ten years and then divide his power among nine archons appointed each year marked other steps in evolution. The legislation of the serene and humane spirit of Solon (594-3 B. C.) went still further. In its relief, for instance, to small farmers liable,

in the economic distress of the time, to enslavement for the debt of mortgages, and in endeavor to set order between established classes, "I gave," he said, "as much strength as is enough, without taking away from their honor, or adding to it. To those who had power and the splendor of riches I gave counsel that they should not uphold violence. I stood with my strong shield spread over both and suffered neither to prevail by wrong." But Solon, governor of Athens, found his generous ardor incommunicable.

We know already that to the Greeks casting away the old and endeavoring to evolve a new sense of the state, two principles of government, a loose and close-knit, were at hand. Among the fluent peoples to the north they saw a tribal life where conflict was perennial and power lay with one man only so long as he had force to hold the headship. To the east there lay the sluggish, military leviathan whose head was a weak, lustful czar, whose body, millions of subjects, heterogeneous, possessed of no spirit of individuality nor of organization, still in the bounds of the primitive group, cohering through fear and slavish acquiescence. In

neither political form could the Hellenes see the service of freedom for which they were outreaching, and reason they sought as a foothold. Neither offered to their aspiring political genius a union of independent wills for which the law they were learning to make, and agree to, was master. Knowledge of oriental absolutism, and tribal anarchy, strengthened their love of a free state and quickened their race consciousness.

Hatred of the Greeks at these times for kings and the difficult rule of the oligarchs, was doubtless often founded upon reflection induced by economic distresses, and the degeneration of the aristocrat to a plutocrat. Their states were small and the people came into close contact with their princelings. Upon their early notion of just balance, of equity, and their growing sense of ordered justice, a prevalence of law, a political principle doubtless strengthened by Dorian influences—that every individual of the state, without any exception whatever, should bring his individual desires and passions within the control and regulation of the rule agreed to in the state—they founded their commonwealths. Most of all should those do this in

whom power was vested. "A well-constituted state is made," said Solon, "when the people obey the rulers, and the rulers obey the laws," "when good laws and good government set the state in order, subdue insolence, chain the hands of evil doers, set straight the crooked ways of perverted law," even when "citizens seek to overthrow the state by love of money and by running after self-seeking demagogues." The shifty uncertainty and restlessness of his times deeply impressed Solon and may have led to his panegyric expression for stability.

In law men set a rule, they endeavor to conserve the eternal, the unchangeable, what they deem best. Law is "reason without passion." Law, "born in heaven," should be the expression of the judgment of the people. "The people ought to fight in defence of the law as they do of their city walls," said Heraclitus. "Lawless disregard of the rights of others, they should be more careful to quench than a conflagration." "Law is to them arbitrary master," said Demaratus of his fellow Spartans. And the old-time law of sacrifice begetting love worked here. For that to which they had given their energy awoke in

the Greeks a new devotion. Loyalty to their city became and remained a passion. Their state was their larger, nobler, enduring, selfless selves. Duties to the state were to these Greeks paramount to all else.

Thus the Greek cities, in their upbuilding and through generations of turbulence, learned to apply reason to politics. Many cities in various ways essayed forms of their idea of liberty—a state balanced, in harmony with the people it governed, the work of their spirit, embodying their character and individuality. The end of the state was to them, as Aristotle said in a later time, “a good life,” the life that brings out the best in the individual, that guides and teaches the spirit of man, a city whose form and government connects itself with the best works. So the city-state becomes the individual’s end; in that he realizes himself. The Hellene believed himself to have gained independence when he gained the independence of his state.

The Hellene’s city-state aimed at an ideal society. It connoted a perfect organization, all its parts intertwined and uniting in endeavor to form a flawless whole. Side by side with this age’s individualism, as in other

epochs marked by healthy individualistic spirit, went the ideal of devotion that prompts the individual to bring his own peculiar gifts to the welfare of the whole and to suffer a snuffing out of the individual factor—that is, the individualism developing among the Greeks of this day must combine with others similar to its own in order to gain its end. The best individual was the best citizen.

ORPHISM: ELEUSINIAN MYSTERIES: RECRUDESCENCE OF SUPERSTITION

But the greatest mark of this second distinctive phase of the Greek spirit is not its nascent democracy—except as its nascent democracy is a result of the reflection with which the Hellenes with their ever-present religious consciousness, begin to consider life and the world and their problems.¹ The human spirit turns from scenes shining with gods and heroes to consider itself. In this action it unites with its attitude in the social crisis and is part of the whole movement of

¹ “The first of human concerns is religion”—a sentence which the English Lord Acton wrote—voices the feeling of the Hellenes.

the era. A free state is parent of a free development of the religious consciousness of man. The rise of cities broke up the old divisions of tribes and created others anew, recast new loyalties. The old gods no longer satisfy, nor the old maxims and ideals of manhood. Life must have a more profound, more self-satisfying aim.

Onward from the eighth century before Christ, we have seen, men's thoughts moved from the heroic glory that colored the age foredone to will, thought, feeling that the human being was of consideration. In the struggle at hand the individual was now the factor of weight. In politics he was forcing new forms. He sought explanation for his awakened longings. Time was ripe for a new religion. With exacting democracy, a practical sense of democracy's value in affairs of life, has always gone a distinguished other-worldliness, a puritanism—the intense practicality of democracy, its emphatic appeal to the individual thought and emotion, seems to be at one with the individualism of puritanism and its all-controlling homesickness for heaven.

The north from time immemorial has been

the home of spiritual impulses. Ægean peoples of the pre-Greek age had been "earth-born," and their Mother Earth, Earth the Life-giver, *φύσιζοος αἴα*, barely spiritualized. The first Greek, he of the heroic centuries, had laid stress upon the importance, the dominion, the divinity of the body. To him the soul was a vapor akin to a strengthless underworld, a pitiful phantasm. In the age now beginning a new religion, Orphism, emphasized the very antithesis of this—that the soul must be of celestial essence, and the body no more than a dungeon in which the heavenly being was chained. Northern folk shut off from the alluring joy in nature's face of the south, and in their colder, more somber climate, developed introspection.

Worship of Dionysus came directly from Thracians, perhaps indirectly from cognate peoples in Phrygia. It may have been a resurgence of old, pre-Greek religious faiths. Doubtless it was allied to seasonal and fertility rites of the religion of the Ægeans. Among certain communities of Hellas the god, with his band of attendant satyrs and women devotees, invaded the hold of the definite divinities of Homer's song—divinities them-

selves we have seen often originating in and evolved out of physical elements and physical impulses of the world. That also was Dionysus, the mighty spirit-workman of the sap and of the warming soil, a son of Earth Mother, of the Mother of Corn, in his northern home the grantor of fertility, the god who quickened vegetation of tree and thicket. Also god, perhaps, of a cereal intoxicant; at last at home and in Greece becoming the god of grapes and wine.

To the religious, humanizing mind of the Hellene, who felt with primal vividness the charm of the mysterious workings of nature and revered the products of that magic, all grain and nourishing fruits were possessed of a god. The feeling is still in our hearts when we stand in amaze before the demiurgic force of spring; when we watch the growths of a corn field, turn from picking a wind-flower, or mourn in the fall of an elm the passing of a fellow.

The spirit of fertility, Dionysus, is spoken of in Homer. But the poet treats him meagerly, possibly because the god had lately made his way and then held no recognition as a master. Whether his cult was borne to the

Greeks by Thracian or Hellene convert and standard-bearer, or whether some human wave leaping southward carried the god's tidings, is lost in the long silence between first Greek records and that far-away day. With Dionysus went also Eros, Love, the world-building, primal life,² the Ancient One who set the stars a-dancing. Eros gave the mystic teachings. Both were gods of the fertili-

² In Love's name, wrote the Greek Sophocles, are hidden many names, force, desire, energy, and tranquillity.

No modern has better expressed the Greek conception of Eros in his influence upon human kind than Coleridge in this verse:

"All thoughts, all passions, all delights,
Whatever stirs this mortal frame,
All are but ministers of Love,
And feed his sacred flame."

Robert Bridges, poet laureate of England, has put an essentially Hellenic thought in the first five of the following lines:

"Love, from whom the world begun
Hath the secret of the sun.

Love can tell, and love alone,
Whence the million stars were strewn,
Why each atom knows its own,
How, in spite of woe and death,
Gay is life and sweet is breath."

zation of the earth and of life. In this way, again, the Hellenes' consciousness of an all-controlling spirit, and their instinct for seeking its visibility, manifested itself.

Amid its northlands faith in soul-wanderings was clearly united with the Dionysus religion. That in man a god lived who would be free when he could break the chains of the body, was deeply grounded in the Dionysus cult and its purificatory ecstasies and rituals. In the amplitude of the night—and in the night perhaps because Dionysus was of the earth, a chthonian god, and dwelt in the dark, or again perhaps because of the faith, common even among later Greeks, of a secret and mysterious fullness of life amid the powers of the earth at night—in the amplitude of the night, clad in skins, decked with the wanton ivy and that other vine, the grape, mother of strange power, their hair bound with some fertility charm or emblem, a lissome snake or a plant, waving torches to purge the air of evil, in unconstrained nearness to nature, joying in union with the universal life, the ritualists of the religion carried on their mysteries and reveled through wildwood, vale of thicket and over mountain, far from restraint of the

abode of men. Their great nature god had put an unaccountable magic in the vine and its clusters, some holy animate thing. Dionysus, the way of life, was through this magic in wine. Wine itself was divine. The very god vitalized the fermented drink, and he most fully seized those who drank deepest. Also in the kid of their sacrifice the devotees partook of communion. Crying "Evoe!" they ate the flesh raw for the sake of vital power; to absorb the sacred blood while it was warm was to absorb life.

Flutes shrilled and increased their emotion. In the dance sacred to the root-being, world-builder, Eros, their Bacchic ecstasy was completed. The god incarnated the emotion of the dance, the personification. Their frenzy was believed to evoke the fructifying powers of the earth, and, in the hushed exhaustion that follows over-exaltation, the spirit to have its profoundest communion with and absorption in the infinite. The goal of the rite was the god's dwelling within the devout and for the time granting his character and power.

The communion may have been a survival of early totemic rites in which devotees sought to gain the life-force of a slain beast by

assimilating his flesh and by getting inside the skin of the sacrifice. In their eating of his flesh they felt that they fortified and sanctified themselves—through assimilation of the divine substance. In those days rituals of human sacrifice were reported in Thrace—and also among contemporary Hebrews and other tribes.

This new cult, it has been noted, made one appeal to the Greeks which in all centuries beckons every child of the human race—the call to ecstatic submergence in the pulsing wild of the world, a return to primitive ideas and simple ancestral ways of many thousands of years before, a hurling aside of conventions stultifying or nullifying the true being. If they had this conception in their rites, the Hellenes would, in short, return for the time to stimulating kinship with the fawn and fox and other beasts whose skins they wore when they worshiped. In the centuries this religion took on the strong anthropomorphism of the Greek spirit, the Hellenes were developing their town life.

The enthusiasm of Dionysus may have been a phase of that spiritual experience called, in the phrase of certain psychologists, “autom-

atism," or "uprushing of the subliminal consciousness" of each individual spirit—that is, it may have been psychically akin to the supernormal mood called "conversion." The cult emphasized the precept that only through a soul's experience of spiritual ecstasy, an inner catastrophe, a second birth, could the human pass to the divine, and it used hypnotizing methods for bringing on the trance.

In the old Greek cult faith in the enthusiasm was widespread. It seized upon the energies of its converts, and as a whole exalted them, even if the common sanity and every-day measure of the moral code stood aside for the time and the excesses of the enthusiasm were subject to interpretation by symbol alone.

Freeing the god by breaking the chains of the body identified the early night feasts of the north, and even, especially at first, in some parts of Greece. But when Orphic mystics took over and adapted the faith to the life of towns struggling with the evolving and practical democracy of Hellas, nocturnal wanderings and excesses of devotees could be followed only in symbolic copy. The Dionysus worship was in Hellas subject to the Hel-

lene's rationalizing and stood for the most part for consistent and energetic morality. Still, while sobered by the Greek spirit a fervor, an inebriety of mind, persisted in hymns and other celebrations of the god, and differentiated his ritual from that of the older gods. Not only in their choral dithyramb, or spring song and the imitative dance, but even later in their sculpture and painting the Greeks showed this enthusiasm.

The antipathy of an ancient, racial, ordered sobriety, we say, met the whirling reel of the Dionysus worship. For generations the Greeks' instinct had maintained a deep-grounded aversion to extravagant mental agitation, to losing oneself in the boundlessness of feeling. Their love of temperance forbade it and the reaction that must follow. The Greeks were masters of themselves. Excess among them was rare. Always with them was the sense of proportion. But profound disturbances of home and state in the midst of the ideas of a brilliant age now inutile, moribund, foredone, may have heart-sickened a finely balanced people, at a loss in the objective world and conscious of its empty answer to their new inner questions.

If this were true, resurgence of an ancestral faith may have come easily. Could the wants of those old Hellenes, miseries induced by continued disaster, by lust for power of old aristocracies, by avarice of the new despots, have opened their souls to desire for a life antipathetic to the immediate past and its faiths?—to the reception of gods of the great magic Life of the earth, the embodiment not only of the mysteries from wine but from mental self-intoxication and immoderate night-revels, the spirit of enthusiasm that unifies the solitary with the general and through the mystery of emotion envisages to the subject the living, pulsing whole and promise of ever-lasting possession? In any era of history the emergence of a previously restricted and uneducated multitude to civic freedom means a refreshing and rehabilitation of religious enthusiasm.

A religion is the product of a single people and their needs. From its very inception it moves cautiously towards universalizing itself. It adapts itself and modifies foreign or distasteful elements to suit its surroundings. It takes here rites and there rituals and faiths from those it meets and would draw within its

final crystallization. The character of a cult and of a divinity depend really upon the character of the sectarian; according to a member's environment and innerself he pictures his divinity, conceives him with grossness or with spirituality in the wise of his own surroundings and his own nature.

Worship of Dionysus was, we have seen, a religion antagonistic to many old conceptions and traditions. Until some apostle with racial feeling for the Hellenes' needs should recast and stamp the enthusiastic fervor and self-abandonment with their race's instinct and thought, and their race's piety, the cult could bear no general meaning to Greek life.

The religion, we said, became Greek under the name of Orphism. Possibly the shadowy Orpheus, whose legend as a magical singer has penetrated all centuries and inspired song (even to our Shakespeare when he did sing), and whose fame as a prophet interpreted the imported rougher rites of Dionysus, taught that the enthusiasm, the Bacchic ecstasy, was a spiritual joy found in a pure and ascetic life.

At the time Orphism was beginning to develop, intercourse between Egypt and Greece

was again growing. An Egyptian puritan code preached ethical ideals similar to the Orphic. This puritanism and the old Thracian cult bringing Dionysus and mighty Eros, lords of life and death, before all other gods, Orpheus possibly united—united so that to separate the one from the other became impossible.

Orphism was an ancient system of mystic puritanism, and to say puritanism is to say individualism, whose strength lay in an ascetic ordering of life, a denial of the body. It had a view of our later mediæval times—that life was a mere probation. The religion's controlling idea was a freeing from earthly, transitory things. The human who adopted it was no longer at one with, he was hostile to, nature. Orphism was also a half-philosophical speculation, a mysticism. Poetical imagery, as in most religions, played a considerable part. The worshiper through enthusiasm strove to remove isolation, apartness, cleavage, and to complete identification with God. Such ideas, we said, were the first principles of the religion of Dionysus. Possession by the god meant *becoming* the god. The alien now was comrade and the

soul united with the absolute. A visualizing of the object of worship, epiphany, happened. The entering of a god or spirit into the human body was a not uncommon idea among the Greeks. State religion recognized it in the oracular possession of the Pythian priestess, who was clearly affected by the Dionysiac ecstasy.

The gods were no more gods of the old Greek type, clear as the air, sensuous, simple, embodying the old group feeling and patriarchal. Newly created by Orphic fancies they held inseparable from their godhead a symbolic meaning, and also an ethical. They became shifting, mystical. The Orphic Zeus at times dwarfed all other gods—whom he included;—"Zeus is the beginning; Zeus is the middle; in Zeus is all complete." While admitting the multiplicity of higher powers, Orphism laid stress upon the solidarity of the universe, the identity of the individual soul with the universal soul. With the individual religion was at present concerned. But the dualism which divided soul and body would naturally evolve to a real dualism between the world and deity.

Man must free himself from evil and re-

turn to God of whom he—the immortal soul—is a living part. Psyche, the soul, of heavenly birth and substance, through sin and to do penance for sin, became incarnate. She can not loose her bonds. Natural death grants her liberty—but for flitting to a purgatory below where, the soul's "education and nutriment," every good act in life, gains her reward. There she rests for a space and then returns to the upper air. She must be embodied anew. As the mote floats in the sun-beam so she floats, one of swarming soul-cells, and enters the human body, perhaps when breathing begins. She is matter, but matter so delicate as to be quite invisible, to be just on or beyond the border-line of visibility.

The soul wanders the wide circle of necessity, changing habitations, entering bodies of man and beast. The way is long to her liberty. In new embodyings, to accomplish her circle of births, she comes to light again and again through a long series of palingeneses—perhaps for ten thousand years. One single earthly existence does not suffice to cleanse her from original sin. She fares upon a weary pilgrimage. Thus runs the wheel of births.

By choice of good in life the circle may be shortened. Pindar sings that those who thrice on either side of death (on earth, or in the intervening period in the other world) have withheld their souls from wickedness, go where winds of ocean blow round the Islands of the Blessed. The soul's deeds in the one life will avail her allotment in the next. What a man did to others he must exactly suffer himself, his soul is degraded by its guilt to penitential punishment, to atonement. Thus he pays full penance for his sins. Orphism emphasized the ethical consciousness. Upon the ground of her purity the soul based her claims to everlasting bliss. In Orphism consideration of sin is subjective. In the Homeric centuries it had been objective.

Still, escape from her imprisonment is open to the soul, the psyche, of man. She may become free from another birth and separate herself from becoming and decay. She may buoy herself by the hope of leaving the wheel of necessity and misery. There is a freeing from the clay in which the soul lies confined, a prisoner in a prison, a shellfish in its shell. Blind men can not help themselves even if the

healing is at hand. Orpheus brings hale. Demiurgic Eros, and Dionysus and his Bacchic train, will free. By the grace of the freeing gods a man shall be free, not by his own strength but by the enthusiasm of the god.

The soul may become pure, free from all spot by Orphic consecration and Orphic life. "Purity" was the ringing cry of Orphism. Even the postulant, the initiate, robed in a linen tunic, symbolic white, must purify himself by baths, by forbearance from certain foods, by charms against malevolent spirits and by that humility of spirit that finds exercise in self-examination. Such purification was necessary for deliverance. Purity of life was a condition of membership. When pure the soul is free and will no more suffer incarnation. She will live in the sempiternal joys of paradise, she who sprang from God and is godlike.

In the blissful life of the blessed, the soul, in conscious union with God, dwells in a land where is no freezing cold nor heat but gentle airs, where bounteous seasons bring in every fruit, and fountains water flower-starred meadows. "Upon the righteous," sang the

Orphic Pindar, "the glorious sun shineth, while here below it is night, and in meadows red with roses round their city gates and hazy with frankincense and laden with golden fruits. . . . and among them fair-flowered happiness blooms, and over that lovely land move sweet scents and mingle with the far-shining fire on the altar of the gods." In unmixed delight the soul gladdens in services to the gods and in pursuit of wisdom, in the music of choruses, the drama of the poets and in banquets, according to the dialogue "Axiochus," at one time ascribed to Plato. Through the "Phædo" we see the eye of Socrates in his last moments dwelling on a like paradise. These traditional hopes, familiar to us in their material, were sung to and by Orphic Hellenes, and were the natural and spontaneous beliefs of their faith acting upon an imaginative people.³

³ Many retellings of this old Orphic inspiration are still current and in many tongues. Essentially poetic, its subject caught the mediæval fancy when "a good dose of materialism" kept the people's health. An Italian bishop, Damiani, and a monk of Brittany, Bernard of Clugny, for instance, embodied it in the noble Latin hymns, "De Gloria et Gandiis Paradisi," "Laus Patriæ Cælestis." One greater, Dante, treated it with

Faith in the immortal life-strength of the soul is the keynote of the Orphic religion. The soul's union with the body and its exercises are a punishment of which she is ever striving to be free. "I am a child of earth and starry heaven;" "Out of the pure I came;" "I have flown out of the sorrowful weary circle;" "I have paid the penalty for deeds of iniquity," sing various gold tablets found in ancient tombs and undeniably voicing the Orphic cult even of this earlier period.

Transmigration of souls, in its simplest expression, has been a belief common to many peoples. It is a carrying to extreme logic the faith of submergence of the individual in tribal life, the progression of the group emotion to its furthest limit. The moral factor of palingenesis, that of purifying heart and ennobling soul and all desires and instincts,

imaginative and speculative enthusiasm. English poets of inspiration have voiced it, for instance the sixteenth century author of the beautiful "Oh, Mother dear, Jerusalem," and the nineteenth century Keats in his sensuous ode, "Bards of Passion and of Mirth." In German we have it in such poems as Rückert's

"Das Paradies muss schöner sein
Als jeder Ort auf Erden."

rising on dead selves to higher things, struggles in the long evolution of the doctrine of metempsychosis.

Thus the Dionysus cult those evolving Greeks took and hellenized—and to hellenize was to humanize. In Bœotia and Argolis, and at Delphi, traditions of the north prevailed, and at Thebes ⁴ women kept to Dionysus a three-yearly festival, the ecstatic ritual and orgiastic tumult held at night on Mount Cithæron. But of the old Thracian enthusiasm the feast at Athens came hardly to show a vestige—although enthusiasm, the expression of a loftier and more gifted spirit than a human's own common mood, possession by a higher power apparent through words or actions, was attributed to the inspiration of a god by later Athenians and especially in the writings of Plato.

Originally worshipers of Dionysus held him, with Eros, as source of moving life in

⁴ "O Bacchus, dweller in Thebes, mother-city of Bacchantes." "Of all cities, Thebes, thou holdest first in honor." "O leader of the stars whose breath is fire, master of sounds of the night, son begotten of Zeus, appear, O lord, with thy encircling Bacchantes who, in night-long frenzy dance to thee, the dispenser, Iacchus." 1121-22; 1137-38; 1146-55 *Antigone*.

nature, the magic workman of all growing things, the prosperer of the whole content of life, even of the exuberant pleasure that expresses itself in dancing and in every joy. His abundance of vitality made him a protector from dæmons. Inevitably his cult tended to the matriarchal—a religion finding root in the worship of Mother Earth and her Son, the fruit thereof. With legends at those times still in popular survival and also in accord with the breadth and inclusiveness of a matriarchal cult, it recognized women's natural piety and susceptibility to extreme emotion. Women were ministrants—the mænads, distinguished votaries of Dionysus, possibly survivals of the then far-ancient ministrants called Amazons and their rites in the service of Earth Mother.

Adoption of the Dionysus religion and its development as a public cult proved in the end a mighty impulse to Hellas. Art opened a perfect form in the worship. That very all-inclusive beauty of Greek poetry, tragedy, grew, perhaps, out of a masque of the seasons in which the god was slain and lamented by mummers clad in goat-skins. And Attic comedy, it has been suggested, evolved pos-

sibly from a purificatory rite when bearers of symbols of fertility came through the central door of the theater at the festival of Lenæa and reviled certain of the audience.

Orphism had substantial foundation in Greece before the sixth century before Christ—a century curiously fertile in religious manifestations in lands far east of Greece. But when Onomacritus, a singer of Bacchic initiation songs and with Pherecydes of Syros founder of the Orphic brotherhood at Athens, dwelt as a guest at the court of Peisistratus—from this association the faith gained the support of the state. The Peisistratid family personified the tyrannus idea at Athens. Orphism and the tyrannus went hand in hand, not only at Athens but at Corinth, Sicyon and elsewhere. The religion was a reflex as well as a cause of the condition into which society had come. Both religion and social condition were antagonistic to the old traditions. Both voiced the same social consciousness and the same social divisions and both recognized the people of towns and tillers of the soil. The nether orders, called “lower” because others rear their structure upon their strength, were asserting themselves and ris-

ing to power in the affairs of life. Old gods had not redressed long-time inequalities or softened the hardness of the oligarchs. New, or renewed, gods might.

Orphism cheered men by saying that each and every one could attain to divine life, to immortality. In an age when there survived the old teaching that it was heaven-storming insolence to seek to be a god, the individualism of Orphism gave courage to seek to be united to God those who were already God. Orphism taught in another way than the old epic the divinity of humanity.

But Orphic puritanism, and the solidarity of the conventicle to which converts pledged themselves, did not wholly take the place of the old aristocrats' Olympian religion. The old faith consecrated all ceremonial civic functions. Orphics still worshiped at the solemn old festivals of the gods which the state ordained.

In the older religion a tribe divinity had still the magnet of a tribe's devotion, and the religious influence that adheres to such ideas. An instance most potent was a splendid festival held periodically at the island of Delos, all Ionic cities uniting in its imposing celebra-

tion; when, says an old hymn, one seeing the grace of all and rejoicing in their spirit, would call the assembled Ionians ageless and deathless, the men and the lovely belted woman. Dionysus came too late to become a communal forbear, to represent the projected consciousness of the old group. Orphics observed still, we say, old tribal and local loyalties and oblations. But Eros, passion-stirring, and Bacchus, vital principle, were their real gods.

The old nobles' religion had little expansive concern for immortality. Realities on this earth prevailed. Content with their life as it was and for generations had been naturally filled the breasts of the ruling orders. Homeric ideas show traces of a doctrine of retribution. But the Orphic faith brought confidence in punishment of evil deeds and the rewards of righteousness. For the ills and inequalities of earth converts declared the glories of an everlasting bliss should be theirs. If a soul could not realize itself here—if on this earth vice had not its meed and virtue were its slave or dupe, if "Captive Good attending Captain Ill" were ever true—the soul may turn its vision to another world for the

balance of justice, the world after death. The gods would grant redress, would strike a balance, for the sufferings of the oppressed.

Here is a distinct step in human evolution and mental refinement—since the ethical estimate of the heroic age, when gods were non-moral, to this phase of the Greek spirit when gods became guardians of righteousness. Justice and evolving conceptions of law stood among the great gods of the Orphic pantheon. Teachings of an implacable justice, the Hellenes' setting out of the Hebraic conception of the sins of father upon children, the early Solon sang in his elegies, "Fruits of insolence and wrong bring vengeance, sure even if slow. . . . Perhaps the guilt escapes, but his blameless children, or distant posterity pay the penalty."

Orphic cosmogony pictured the becoming and growth of the world out of a dark, driving power into the clear, definite manifoldness of the cosmos—a long train of godlike forces winding and overwinding one another in the world's orderly formation. This teaching of the generation of the universe was like that of old religions, for instance, the Persian, to which Orphism was doubtless related.

Such a faith had its historic mission. It succored the growth of men's conscience and deepened their inner life. It inculcated disdain for the goods and successes of the world which had been controlling—for renown, for war and its grossnesses. Another result was a gloom, an asceticism at odds with the old, commonly prevalent view of life as a buoyant beauty, a harmony. Ideas such as these are engendered and enunciated, it has been said, by a people who disavow power and force or are without such factors.

But the central and finally most popular worship of the Dionysus idea, that which probably more completely set forth the doctrine and was not so much a mass of loosely united beliefs, a worship clearly allied to Orphism in secrecy, in revocation of the creative impulse, in expiatory rites and purifications, were the great Eleusinian Mysteries, a passion play sacred to divinities of the earth—a setting forth of the holy history of Hades' theft of Core, as she among meadow grasses gathered the strange flower of the narcissus; the maid's translation to the god's realms below; the wandering quest of her mother, Demeter, up and down the earth; the poignant

sorrows of Mater Dolorosa; and the final reunion of Mother and Child. "And," sang an old hymn, "Zeus decreed that Persephone should remain two parts of the year with her mother, and one third part only with her husband in the kingdom of the dead."

The secret worship centering about this beautiful story fell near the end of our September amid the agricultural people of the fertile plain of Eleusis, a little town hugging the sea-coast across from Salamis, some fourteen miles from Athens. There, legend told, Persephone had returned to her mother after she had come with Hermes from Hades' kingdom below. The rites, fabled to have been established by the Thracian Eumolpus, doubtless dated to those pre-Greek days when Mother Earth was Great Goddess and every settlement of Ægean folk had its Lady of the Corn, or of abundance of crops and fertility of flocks.⁵ Demeter, sender-up of gifts, signi-

⁵ Persistence of local cults among Mediterranean peoples has been through millennia and down to our own time. Demeter, not a personified principle but a real personal power, "the mistress of the world," a living, benevolent divinity dwelling in the heart of a mountain, is worshiped to this day in Greece. In the last century tillers of the soil, natives of this very plain of

fied the earth, not the mere material of the earth-body—Gaia was that—but the lady-producer, the lady-nourisher of what grows out of the earth. Persephone, her daughter, was the seed corn and the fruit of the fields. The robbery of Core symbolized the sinking of seed corn in the earth; her return the coming of the seed plant from the soil—the yearly going under and the renewing of vegetation.

In their origin the rites were probably a celebration of a harvest festival, and magic ceremonies to further food supply. Such practices might also celebrate invigorating of life-force and the process of plowing and sowing. Profounder spiritual significance they might have gained in later times in elaboration of the cult of Dionysus. Iacchus, “giver of wealth,” “dispenser of men’s fate,” as the vegetation god would be in the world, “dæmon of Demeter, founder of the Mys-

Eleusis, cherished a statue of Demeter after a Christianized ritual naming it St. Demetra, a saint not in ecclesiastical canon and entirely unknown elsewhere. In his “Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion,” Mr. J. C. Lawson tells that the statue “in spite of a riot among the peasants of Eleusis” was removed and “is now a little-regarded object catalogued as ‘No. XIV, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (much mutilated).’”

teries," was an Eleusinian name of Dionysus, perhaps derived from his worshipers' cry of joy.

The religious pantomime of the Eleusinian Mysteries was not the sole sacred drama in Hellas. Representations of phases of the life of the gods, feasts to Zeus, to Here, to Apollo were part of a widely distributed cult practice, and mystery cults were potent, for instance, that of Hecate at Ægina and of Ge at Phyle. The Eleusinian was distinctive through the outlook it gave its attendants. During the centuries of its most marked growth individuality in all relations was evolving. Contemplation of the fate of the seed corn personified in Persephone—the disappearance of the corn from the earth and its return—afforded insight into the destiny of the individual human soul, of man's birth and rebirth. In this we have the unity of the old Greek faith, that human life is not a segregated thing, but a part of the whole vegetative and animal world. The soul disappears in order to live, just as the seed.⁶ That was

⁶ This meditation the zeal of Paul set down centuries later in a letter to Christian converts at Corinth, in sentences of remarkable beauty and the same analogical

the sum of the sacred secret—the soul disappears in order to live. “The Athenians of old,” said Plutarch, “called the dead Demeter’s people”—people of Earth Mother.

By the mystic, purificatory ceremony at Eleusis the worshiper of the solemn goddesses, the Mother and the Daughter, and their associated gods, for instance Triptolemus, plower and distributor of grain for sowing, the initiate might hold privileged relations with the divinities, a communion, and hope for success in life and better fortune after death. “Of men who go about upon the earth, he is happy who has seen these things,” sang an old hymn of the worship, “He who has not shared in them has by no means an equal fate in the gloom of the nether world.” Not only that the soul freed from the body lives—brighter and more comforting thoughts of how she will live these Mysteries taught men. That is, the initiate won at Eleusis a lively setting forth of the existence of the departed soul “being god-beloved and dwelling with the gods.”

Originally a tribal privilege, probably an reasoning; “That which thou sowest is not quickened except it die,” etc.

occasion when each member of the group socialized his soul by pledging it to the soul of the congregation, the Mysteries in the fifth century before Christ invited the whole Hellenic world to share their spiritual life. Their membership became widespread, and they had long-continued reverence. Initiation was only by the individual's free act and election. The candidates, who had had instruction from the leader of the Mysteries and introduction to the Lesser Mysteries months before, must confess themselves to be pure in hand, that is, with no blood guiltiness, and they should have followed rules of abstinence and fasting. "Let no one enter," read a solemn proclamation used at one time, "whose hands are not clean and whose tongue is not prudent."

Upon assembling the candidates must go to the seashore to purify themselves with salt water, a baptism or laver of regeneration. A cathartic ritual, sprinkling with the blood of a pig—and possibly a pig because the sow had been a symbol of fertility—may then have followed. After a sacrifice, perhaps, and an interval of two days, the great procession started from Athens to Eleusis bearing a

representation of the god Iacchus. With shrines to visit on the way, and with sacrifices, their march must have been slow. They would reach Eleusis on the same night, or on the following, fatigued, in that state of body when through fasting and ritual the mind would be given to hallucination. Under the stars with Iacchus there followed a midnight meeting, and, in the Mystery hall (Ictinus, architect of the Parthenon, built later the splendid temple of Demeter) two or more days of sacred drama.

The eight priests and priestesses of the ceremonies may at this time have given an appealing play of the taking away of Core, the sorrow of the Mother, the reunion of the two, the mission of Triptolemus. That is, the play may have symbolized the poetry of nature, the drama each year enacts during spring, summer and winter. And thus it may have taught of human life, and poetized the hope of a world where death gives place to life. The very character of mystery—reserve for the initiate—keeps us from exact knowledge of what was done.

Perhaps the drama pictured, through the loss of the Daughter, separation by death, the

sorrow of the living, the consoling faith of an ultimate reunion. In this way the soul, feeling a personal communion with the divine would be purified and lifted to a new life. It is difficult to believe any part of the solemnities to have been obscene, as early Christian writers averred. When the Hellenes said they were "unspeakable" they meant not unnamably impure, but unnamably and mysteriously holy. They appealed to and comforted most refined minds. If they represented a union of the human and divine, a pledge of intimate association with immortals in another world, the fasting and reduction of the body's normal strength at their rites may have led to reaction, excess, afterwards—just as at the fast of Ramazan the Mohammeden's self-restraint of the day gives way to indulgence in nightly feasts, or as our present-day Lenten denials generate abnormal feasts at Easter.

"Demeter . . . gave our ancestors twofold gifts," said Isocrates in his *Panegyricus*, "those fruits of the earth which saved us from living the life of wild beasts, and the rites which make happier the sharers of it, both concerning the end of life and existence

forever.” “When we die,” wrote Plutarch much later, yet bearing the faith of a believer, “we are like those being initiated into the Mystery. . . . Our whole life is but a succession of wanderings, of painful goings about, of journeys by devious ways with no outlet. At the moment of quitting it, fears, horrors, palpitations, deathly sweats and stupor come upon and overwhelm us. But as soon as we are past it, pure places and meadows open to us, with voices and dances and sacred words and holy sights. There a man having become initiate and perfect, free and lord of self, celebrates, crowned with myrtle, most solemn mysteries, converses with righteous and pure souls, looking down upon the impure numbers of the uninitiate sinking in the mire and fog beneath—by fear of death and by lack of faith in a life to come abiding in their miseries.”

In the mystic celebration the Eumolpidæ preserved rights of apostolic succession from the founder. From that family was chosen an official who, clad in rich raiment, acted as Hierophantes, the word meaning one who shows forth sacred things. Consecrated to his function for life, and in

later generations vowed to celibacy and continual chastity, he alone could enter inmost penetralia of the hall of the Mysteries. Any candidate his holiness thought unfit for the communion he might refuse.

With the assurance of fixed, religious organizations, the sentiment doubtless dating back to early group-feeling, the Eleusinian community came to divide mankind into two classes—the pure, those initiate of the Eleusinian rites, and the mass not initiate. Mankind was not divided into the good and wicked, another has pointed out. Not as human beings, and not as virtuous and pious human beings should men and women expect a happy life in the world to come—rather only as members of the Eleusinian company of worshipers and participators in the Eleusinian services. Ethical merit, the merit of a citizen of ideal type, had in that estimate little accounting. Obedience to ritualistic formulæ, the visionary merit of union with the body, alone determined—a recrudescence, again we say, or survival of the old, dominating soul of the group. Happiness, an initiate declares in the quotation above, was in prospect for members of the sacred mystery only.

They alone dared entertain pious expectations of a real life hereafter. They alone might have the serenity of true expectancy, a privilege gained in no other way than through sharing the celebration and partaking of the blessed feast of fellowship, wheat cakes or bread sacred to Demeter and wine dedicated to Dionysus. Religion, so far as this popular sense went, was merely an otiose assent to prevailing forms and symbols. Purification by ritual doubtless had its origin in magic,—in an elaboration in approaching the unseen superhuman power and then a substitution of the form of approach for the power itself. But such purification may have led to some degree of purification by ethical ideals. “There is sure and joyous light to us alone,” sang the song which Dionysus heard in the meadows of the Blessed, “to us who have been initiated and have lived reverently towards strangers and private folk.”

The practical irreasons of the faith were a reaction from the old heroic independence and the sanity of the Hellenic mind. Homer was far from vaunting expiatory ceremonies, mystic rites and religious brotherhoods. He refers to few superstitions. Perchance their

magic had little ascendance among the folk for whom he sang.

If the simple, primal consciousness of the old Greeks of the epic age was broken, the individual, isolated soul certainly counted for more than when the king of sacrifices stood before the more physical gods of Olympus and voiced his community's consciousness of the human and divine. Now a pious man must look for soul-help in the ritual and observance of an externalized order. He had need of a larger revelation and the mediation of a greater master, of some mystery, some magic, outside his group's, to show the way to the soul's hale. The Mysteries brought the proclamation to the world, said a decree of the second century before Christ, "that the greatest good among men is fellowship and faith."

In the spiritual development of a people supernatural therapeutics, wonder-working and exorcism long forerun the philosophers. Practices of magic and witchcraft and purificatory superstitions are of earlier ages; or of a substratum of the people of later times—long practiced in secret and at some favoring juncture taking on vigor in open air.

Now, in Hellas, sorceries were not a sudden growth or arbitrary invention. They were doubtless deep rooted in long anterior centuries and had been men's resort to the superhuman for the guidance of life. Possibly in these times they suffered a renewal of strength through crises in the people's life, and in that ineradicable human feeling that would pry into and divine the future and endeavor to avert its possible evil. Dionysus, the earth-sap god, the granter of ecstasy, was also a healer, an inpourer of the power of soothsaying.

During the waxing of Hellenic society in these individualizing centuries—from scattered dwellers over the face of a country and in the bonds of patriarchal kingdoms to the unity of vigorous, sizable cities and sanitary care necessary where people are grouped together, cleansing and purification became needful in the same ratio that human life grew in esteem and preciousness. Disease, unseen, lurking endemic pests engendered by the crowding together of men, denser population in our present-day phrase, must have struck the Greeks with a bold hand in their town building and then unknowledge of sani-

tation. As in the *Iliad* the plague witnessing divine anger at Agamemnon's sin made purification necessary, so now in many places some malefic god was at hand, some dæmon of the earth or underworld, whose works were turned by ceremonialism and magic of fumigation and fire, who also departed after ablution. Beating of bronze clappers, cymbals, freed from hostile, interruptive dæmons the spirit that makes crops grow, just as, it has been said, the gong in the grove at Dodona preserved by its continuous clang the sacred ground from malignant influences.⁷ Thus these folk imaginatively traced origin with a glimmer of light, and science gleams in the midst of ancient charlatanry. In considering their practices we must not forget that between magic, dependence upon a supernatural power for guidance, and religion, there is only the distinction of growth, both being phases of reliance on or union with a supreme power.

⁷ By the same token bells were a prophylactic for they inspired terror in evil spirits. Therefore, in later centuries, the Christian church hung them in their towers, where they pealed at the passing of a soul and in their call defended the congregation from ill.

From Crete, an ancient home of thaumaturgy for Ægean peoples, Thaletas came to Lacedæmon to rid the Spartans of a plague through his music and hymns to the gods,⁸ and at Athens the Cretan Epimenides, an ally of Solon, healed the people of a pestilence and despondency and salutarily lifted their hearts. Many a small stream of expurgatory rites and demonology flowed into and colored the larger stream of Greek religion.

When, we say, with grouping of humans in cities need of cleansing from defilement cried aloud, mental confusion as to cause of pollution led doubtless to a reinvigoration of the exorcist and to practices of magic in cleansing from imaginary defilement—to ceremonies of cursing to avert evil luck and bring good; freeing the habitation, the doorpost, the field, from vague, malevolent bogeys and ghosts; to ridding from pollution the person of the newborn child and the mother after the birth of the child; to magnetizing the weather to drive away disease. Ker was a generic name of this corrupting thing, this

⁸ To-day peoples of Calabria free themselves from earthquake by like processes.

fate of death, this bacillus of disease. The word also meant ancestral ghost. Fantastic expiation freed the murderer from blood-guiltiness, and afflicted men might purify themselves from dæmons.

From the eighth to the sixth century men and women prophets, exorcists and purifiers, often degraders of Orphic precepts, seizing upon the mental nervousness and superstitions of the weaker, wandered through Greece. Their very being evidences the spread of a mysticism, the endeavor of a people burdened with the ills of their unsettled life, pulsing with the effort to pass the narrow horizon of every-day consciousness to the heights of unbounded vision and communion with the divine.

Religious doctrines we have considered subjected their initiate to rule and symbol. Like all symbolic religions they promoted the idea that observance of forms and ceremonies would wipe away moral consciousness of sin—nay, even sin itself. Consequently, but still later than this age, for Plato tells of it, a sorcery so un-Hellenic, gross and grotesque gained way that certain mystagogues, mendicant friars and soothsayers peddled to the

doors of the rich, and even to Greek cities, power to heal in agreeable way of sacrifice and rite whatever sin burdened the soul—promising absolution, effective both in this world and the next, a patent spiritual nostrum to protect the soul from a wrath which their Hellenic sense of justice meted should come. “They redeem us from the pains of hell; if we neglect them, no one knows what is waiting for us.”

Among the confused and bizarre and non-Hellenic powers in this current of imposture was Hecate of the three-fold form, daughter of the sky of night, mother of midnight terrors, dwelling in the underworld, who found her way to the abode of the living more lightly than other nether-abode dwellers. She was by when a soul bound itself to a body, and even at the birth of wild animals. When a soul parted from its body she was also there. She was goddess of souls bound to another world. Her haunts were gravestones, and the solemn honors of the cult of the dead. The half-light of the moon, with which luminary she had some occult connection, showed her course by night. She flitted over cross-roads. There stood her image; and also be-

fore thresholds of houses to ward off evil spirits. At the forking of three ways, likely spot for ghosts, was also her worship. In haunted places she was invoked for her power to send from the earth horrid forms. Souls whose burial had been unattended by holy rites were her servitors, or those who used violence in life or died before their time—souls that find no peace after death but whirl in the wind with this magical, spell-binding goddess and her troop of dæmon dogs, bringing epilepsy, madness, disease, to whomsoever they meet.

This and kindred legends—the “under-world” of the intellect of that time, the nether side of the beauty and brightness that was distinguishing its progress—doubtless voiced a people and their magic at the time of their inception. They voice fear. In the religion of monarchies of Babylon and Assyria in the time of the magic’s seeming revival, a potent factor was fear of swarming, malignant beings of grotesque shape, deleterious and destructive to human life, always on the watch to undo unguarded mortals. In the Hellenes’ use the legends bear also another witness—the conception of the interde-

pendence of all being and growth—a conviction often allowing itself expression in terms of the night-side of nature.

EARLY GREEK PHILOSOPHY, AND PHYSICS FORECASTING MODERN SCIENCE

Another mark of this second phase of the Greek spirit—of the reflection with which the Greek began to consider life and the world and their problems—is found in the beginnings of philosophy. The human spirit, in other than social and religious phases, joys in new regions and a growing consciousness of self. It essays another form akin to religion in conception, aim and comprehensiveness. To the thinker the universe must be fresh-born, as to colonists of active life exploring untried seas and penetrating primeval forests. New perceptions must combine and set out experiences afresh. The world must have a simple, rational explanation; life, a profound and self-satisfying aim.

Search for truth and that noble wisdom whose fruits are reverence and calm seized upon men's souls as a great enthusiasm. The world is wide and wonderful, and those

early thinkers of Hellas could little see how long would be their search—and, forsooth, the search of man for many centuries to follow. It was the hope of every wisdom-lover to solve the great evanishing mystery. What the primordial source from which all came? How reduce endless variety—change, change—to unity? And man's relations to this variety—what are the laws and what transcendent truth? What is the spiritual light for things as we see them—for the world of nature?

Earnestness made the Greeks seekers. We know attempted answers of theirs. The more we ponder, the profounder is our astonishment at their magnificently prophetic outlines. Modern science seems in many ways but the larger reading of those old philosophies. With the sympathy and perception with which in the long past their race had from the mysterious beauties of the earth, and its ensphering universe, evolved their objective religion and bred their epic art, so now the Hellenes incarnated scientific analysis of nature. That is, that energy of the imagination which had wrought lasting work in epic song, and in a poetic, synthetic

religion, now turned its insight to analytic, scientific enquiry and bore fruitful forecasts in more formal divisions. Science is a younger-born sister of poetry. The history of the Hellenes' science affords authoritative data in tracing their evolution. That which we call their philosophy is an imagination, a vision of life of certain of their seers—in which vision reason, thought, imagination, dominate rather than the emotion.

The imaginative reasoning of those Greek penetrators led them to their belief in the indestructibility of matter, and in the existence of elements—they went so far in conception as to seek to reduce all diverse things they saw to some fundamental element. They felt the unity under multiplicity that modern science proclaims, the common substance and the aspiring law that draws chaos to cosmos. We can not generalize their endeavors, their individuality forbids. Let us glance at a few of their efforts seriatim.

The first cradle of this new reflection of the Greeks was the coast of Asia Minor. Round the name of Thales of Miletus (said to have been born 640 B. C.) group reports of discoveries. In putting his efforts in the field

of sensible phenomena he showed the racial character of his fellow Ionians. In his attempts to explain the world, the Hellenes' abiding love of science.

Matter was to Thales a living thing. It was endowed with energy, and motion was a result of life. There is an indwelling soul—"all things are full of gods," he said. This suggests the modern "prepotency," "internal, perfecting principle." A divine power pervades the elementary moisture and gives it motion. All things are therefore water variously transformed and capable of transformation. Thales came to this fundamental dogma, suggests Aristotle, by observation of the part warm, damp, organic matter plays in the production and keeping of life.

This philosopher of Miletus is said to have introduced geometry into Greece, to have determined that the angles at the base of an isosceles triangle are equal and that the circle is bisected by its diameter. Before his time the Egyptians had gained the elements of geometry in measuring lands made fertile by the floods of the Nile. Again Thales had such wisdom of the stars that he could and did predict a total eclipse—which

occurred in the war between Lydia and Media on the 28th of May, 585 B. C. But already the Chaldeans, thinking the stars in their clear sky above were in harmony with human affairs below, and that it were possible to solve enigmata of the earth by motions in the heavens, had blazed a trail in stellar mysteries and in quest of pseudo-astrology had found laws of astronomy.

Anaximander, coming a generation after Thales, holding to the doctrine that matter is by nature endowed with life, reasoned that the first principle is the infinite, without beginning and without end, at once material and divine, his *ἄπειρον*. Each separate existence, an upstart, must in equity decline in a world in which antagonism and mutual extermination prevail. The independent, primary substance again and again absorbs such existences, and another process of individualization follows. This echoes of the Orphics and betrays a moral and religious suggestion. From *ἄπειρον*, without beginning and without end, warm and cold, moist and dry, progressively differentiate.

Anaximander declared, although with much that was crudest in cosmogony, that the

earth had in cosmic periods been in a fluid state, that under the beneficence of warmth, living beings gradually developed in the sea—slime, that land animals in the beginning had the form of fishes and upon the drying of the surface of the earth—at many places he had seen the retreating of the Mediterranean—they took on their land form. At the beginning man was generated from all kinds of animals; all the rest can quickly get food for their nourishment, but man alone for a long time needs careful feeding, and could not at the beginning have preserved his life.

Such startling forecasts of our science had Anaximander (said to have been born in the year 611 B. C.), in Miletus, at his time the greatest of Greek cities, a vast market of the seafaring Ionians, where the rich valley of the Menander ends at the sea.

But the tenure of such a dogma as that of Thales concerning primary matter must be slight. Why not some other pervasive element? With Thales and Anaximander matter held within itself the cause of its own motion. Anaximenes, again of Miletus and after Anaximander and reported his pupil, held air, infinite in extent, nearest to an im-

material thing, before all bodies as their first, animating principle. By a certain condensation and rarefaction of it arise the things that have come and are coming into existence, and the things that will be. This introduction of spatial relations in particles is said to have forecast our modern atomic theory. As our soul which is air holds us together, so breath and air encompass the whole world, he declared. Like Anaximander, peering into the dark, penetrated with yearning to see the reasons for phenomena about him, Anaximenes essayed guesses the significance of which astonishes moderns.

Then came Heraclitus, the wide-eyed, whose proud and solitary mind—"to me one man is ten thousand, if he be the best"—fertilizes to this day. "This world-order, the same for all things, no god nor man made; but it always was, and is, and ever shall be, an ever-living fire lighted according to measure and quenched according to measure." Thought-endowed, primordial fire is the conscious principle of the world, the eternal reason whose harmony constitutes the universal law. From primary substance of purest light or fire—an engendering, and consuming energy

—in up-building and down-tearing, individuals come forth. “All things flow”; “all objects are at all times moving”—modern science tells of constant, molecular action, and also of “transmutation of elements.” Alteration in things as they are, fashioning by slow development, and adaptation to new conditions is the law.

Opposition unites; “all things have their birth in strife, and out of discord arises fairest harmony.” Finite things resolve themselves into the first principle. Human law is nurtured by one fundamental, divine law which is for all time. “God does all things with a view to the harmony of the whole.”

Because of his use of the word *logos*, λόγος, *word*, which meant to the Greeks power of speech and so persuasion, reason, an interposing, intermediate agent between man and man, and so between man and God, a mediator, an active spiritual (possibly also material) being to intervene and connect the Eternal and the sense-world of man—because of Heraclitus’ use of *logos* in describing the world-order, the cosmos—the philosopher has through Christian centuries enjoyed orthodox approval. “They who have lived

in company with the Logos are Christians," says Justin Martyr, "even if they were accounted atheists. And such among the Greeks were Socrates and Heraclitus."

Here and now Heraclitus, and the other natural philosophers, restated for their age what the heroic Greek in his religion had centuries before stated for his own—the identity of the universe, faith in its uniformity and in its laws. Religious awe and sense of moral order was with these Greeks in their speculation.

The plasticity of the early Greek conceptions had passed. Days when poetry alone should rule were fast passing. Philosophers began as physicists and cosmologists. It was not long before they set out an ethical bearing. They gave attributes and functions to the first element they sought which before and afterwards men ascribed to Deity. Orphism was in their midst; their enunciations now and then show Orphic influence.

By the gifts of many minds a moral code was gradually forming. To meet the growth of his time Heraclitus declared virtue to lie in "following the universal," the subjection of the individual to the law. In the universal

reason is true freedom. "Not from me, but from truth, it is wise for you to agree that all things are one." Character, *ethos*, ἦθος, says Heraclitus, is a guardian divinity to a man.

Thus those early philosophers of the Hellenes were teachers. They set out ideas which groped forward and foreran modern theories as to the derivation of the world from primeval nebulae, and also moral conceptions still further to evolve and to mature.

Another of their number, drawn to Crotona perhaps by popular characteristics of a city distinguished for the number of its citizens who had won victory at the Olympic games, and for the excellence of its physicians, Pythagoras settled in southern Italy in the year circum 529 B. C. A colony of Achæans had founded the town, and the whole amalgamated into one body in which the sternness and severity of the Dorian character supervised. The Dorian conception that there was no health of the people nor of the state without the lordship of ethics, offered ready opportunity for a brotherhood which should aim at "release," λύσις, the purification of the community, the moral salvation of the

people and the establishment of civic order. Such an ethical association Pythagoras founded. With its practical puritan force, its abstinence, its intrepidity, its religious exaltation, its matriarchal conceptions springing from Orphism and including women in its workers, the union met immediate success. Proselytes took up work for the city's needs—man is born into a world of order and is made for, and a part of, order.

To enter the association the disciple must undergo examination and bind himself to unconditional submission and obedience. He must subject himself daily to rigorous self-examination as to his temperance, his reverence, justice, purity of life, and prayer. Simplicity must mark his dress, and of animal food he may partake only in obedience to certain injunctions. His soul dwells in his body as in a prison. Like the stars it is subject to eternal motion and cyclic succession.

The teaching of Pythagoras that the body is the house or tomb of the soul, his idea of the soul's purification and wandering may have their origin in Orphism. Contrast between earthly suffering and imperfection, and heavenly bliss and consummation, are the

core of Orphism and Pythagoreanism. In the Greek cities of lower Italy and Sicily Orphic religion united with, or was a part of the blossoming Pythagoreanism in the last of the sixth and first of the fifth century before Christ. But whether Pythagoras found Orphism in Crotona when he reached Italy, and united his teachings with their ways of thinking, or whether the Orphics are indebted to Pythagoras and his followers is not known. With the practicality of the townspeople's blood he applied philosophy to men's lives and adjusted it to men's relation to the state. He did for the community what Orphism had done for the individual and with the directness and confidence of ethical conviction.

Pythagoras, Heraclitus said in his own time, was famed for his studies. He may have obtained ideas first hand from Egypt and the East. In the intellectual ferment of that day of the Panjab Luther, Buddha, and other religionists, the old oriental teachings of metempsychosis, the circle of births, may have made its way to his west. It was the age of Cyrus the Great when Indian nations as well as Greek fell under the Persian sway.

In after centuries the asceticism and mys-

ticism of the Pythagoreans went far. Habit of self-examination among them led to each asking himself at the fall of every night, "How have I sinned?" "What duty have I left undone?" Lacedæmonians of the time of Plato were adepts in Pythagoreanism, and the moral loftiness of the Essenes brotherhood, in times and peoples immediately preceding Christ, possibly refer to Pythagoreanism absorbed by the Jew when he came in contact with Greek thought. In the Essenes community the Jew carried out the idea with his race's practical, intensive and dramatic fervor.

Pythagoreanism again in its principle of number and of music, was pronouncedly Dorian. Number and proportion Pythagoras found in everything that is known. Discovery of the principle, in acoustics, of the dependence of the pitch of sound on the length of the vibrating chord led him to such fanciful excesses that he pronounced the principle of numbers, themselves, the very essence of things, not predicates. The rule of universal law in number he averred is the principle under which a world subsists in order.

Still other inroads showed the working of

the penetrating Greek spirit. The critical thinking of Xenophanes born (about 580 B. C.) at Colophon near Ephesus had its origin in his becoming conscious of this following law. But first let us recall that his brother Greeks, "taught vain luxury by the Lydians," he said, "go to the market place with haughty looks, wearing purple robes, proud of their comely hair anointed with curious unguents"—the Asiatic Greeks were never so marked with steadfast courage as their cousins of the European Greek countries. The poignant sorrow of Xenophanes when he witnessed the wiping out of the freedom of his brother Ionians, and what he deemed their cringing before their victor, Cyrus the Conqueror, led to his conclusion that his people's thinking must be wrong, if they could endure loss of freedom. That is the law:—If they can endure loss of freedom, a people's thinking must be wrong. He must instruct.

Thus at last he came, an aged minstrel, after wide wandering finally to dwell in the Greek city of Elea in southern Italy, affirming against the gods of Olympus of common report, "There is one God, among gods and men greatest, neither in form like mortals,

nor in mind"; "The Whole sees, the Whole thinks, the Whole hears. . . . Without labor he rules all things by the purpose of his mind." Xenophanes taught worship of nature, an everlasting World God. He would free men's imagination in religion, would recast their ideas.

Among the people was working doubt of the genuineness of the myths. Those generations had out-grown the gods who had satisfied the world-conceptions of their forebears. "Men imagine gods are born," further said Xenophanes, "to have clothing and voice and body like our own." "The Ethiopians make their gods flat-nosed and black, the Thracians red-haired and blue-eyed." "Oxen, lions and horses, if they had hands to write and do the work of men, would make the semblance of the gods and their bodies, each after his own body." But Xenophanes still used polytheistic language. "In the beginning the gods did not show all things to mortals: by searching men find out a better way." With other Greek philosophers he may have regarded the popular gods as but one point of view of the World God.

Originally the making of gods in their own

image was a gain. It softened the early Greeks who saw the god, one spirit with himself, in bush and fountain and sky. But crystallization of the idea, led sometimes to petty formalizing of the imagination, and ultimately to loss of mystery and dignity.

Of the daily conduct of life Xenophanes said, "If one won a victory by swiftness of feet, or in the contest of the five exercises, where the grove of Zeus lies by Pisa's stream in Olympia, or as a wrestler, or in sharp boxing, or in that severe contest combining both wrestling and boxing, he would be more glorious in the eyes of citizens, and would win a front seat at assemblies and have his food from the public store, and a gift which would be a treasure to him from the city. If he won with horses, he would get all these things, although not deserving them as I deserve them. Our wisdom is better than the strength of men or of horses. It is not just to prefer strength of body to goodly wisdom. For if among the people were one good at boxing, or in the five exercises, or in wrestling, or in swiftness . . . not on account of that would the city have good laws obeyed."

From the imprint of sea-animals and shells

found in Paros, and fish in the quarries of Syracuse, this geologist, one of the first, reasoned that the sea had covered the land at one time, when the imprint was made on mud, and had receded through geologic ages.

To the theological speculations of Xenophanes, Parmenides of Elea, his younger contemporary, succeeded in his theory of the One, Being, knowledge of which, that is truth of which, we can find by thought. "There remains but one word of the way," said Parmenides, "that Being *is*. And on this way are many evidences that Being is without birth and without death, that it is universal and alone—existent, without motion and infinite. Neither ever was it, nor will it be, since it now *is* all together, one, continuous. For what generation of it wilt thou seek out? How and whence did it increase? That it came from not-being I will not permit thee to say or to think. . . . So it is necessary that Being either absolutely is or is not." Plurality is an empty show and does not exist, but by deception of the senses seems to be true.

Parmenides, with Xenophanes and the younger Zeno, induced a spirit of criticism

upon all thought that had preceded them. In his cosmogonic speculation Parmenides taught the earth to be a globe, and he elaborated the theory of the earth's zones. In that part of his teachings which were physical he voiced the Pythagoreans of whose brotherhood he was an associate.

In this period the large and rational curiosity of the Hellene, his vivid, intellectual vigor, his quick perception and agile, imaginative, awe-inspired mind embraced the universe. In asking the question of himself and of the world about him that all enquiring and sifting and analytic systems of regarding life ask, he essayed to find his own answer. His philosophers started out with the conception that life is inseparable from matter. They went on from the region of the senses to the region of abstraction till, as we see, in Elea they came to the most abstruse conception of Being.

The Zeno of Elea referred to, a pupil of Parmenides and called double-tongued, developed in his disputation for the discovery of truth that negative force of the dialectic method, that probing, questioning, mental attitude, unmasking the pretentious and false,

that was to reach its perfection later in Socrates and to mark Greek thought for all time.

To the Ionian Anaxagoras and his majestic hypothesis in science remained the determining, regnant, world-ordering Mind or nous, νοῦς, subtlest and finest of things, that which arranges and is the cause of all things, boundless and self-governed, unmixed with material nature and subject only to itself—all knowledge, all power, all reason, all order, all simplicity. Our senses are too weak to know the truth. The external world we know by the mind; all things the divine reason knows. The nous of Anaxagoras was distinctively what in later times men called God. "All things were together; then Reason came and set them in order," said Anaxagoras. The Hebrews told the tale in other words, "And the earth was without form, and void; and darkness was upon the face of the deep: and the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters."

The rigidity and assumed infallibility of the theories of Anaxagoras contrasted sharply with the mental suppleness and pliability of others in the Athens of his day. Still

he typed the investigator, and of him Euripides is supposed to have sung when he wrote, "Happy the man who is zealous for knowledge gained by enquiry, who hastens himself neither about the woes of citizens, nor toward unjust deeds, but views the order that waxes not old, the order of deathless nature—whence it arose, the how and the why. Near such a man the practice of shameful deeds never sits."

But speculation upon how and why this world came, its law, its beauty, its woe, had not stopped here. The picturesque Empedocles, traveling through Sicily in such millinery as purple vestments bound to his form by a golden girdle, his head laureled, his feet sandaled in brazen gear, wonder-working in magic feasts and in awakening a woman from seeming death, acclaimed in religious emotion by the thousands who besought his help, Empedocles taught men wineless rites that they might avert old age, and also to fast from evil. "An immortal god unto you, no longer a mortal, I go about honored by all, as is fitting, and crowned with fillets and fresh garlands." And because he led the overthrow of an aristocracy and refused the power

of king, he was in the fifth century before Christ acclaimed, and in his native city of Agrigentum he is to this day worshiped, as an ideal champion of free institutions.

This advocate of popular rights was also a mystic, teaching the existence of a psychic force, into which discord entering gave forth love and strife, an attractive and repulsive power, the solidarity and repulsion which we see working all about us. There is identity of elements, and one law pervades all nature. "They have no deep-thinking thoughts who think that what was not before comes into being, or that anything dies and perishes utterly." "Everything has the power of thought and a share in understanding." Such deductions as these from kinship with other orders of life led Empedocles to non-flesh-eating and other ascetic practices. "See ye not that ye devour one another in heedlessness of mind?"

The mightiest and most majestic systems of thought are in progress as is a single human life—the goal of all knowledge, and of all theories of science, and of all speculation and wisdom, is only reached stumblingly, by gropings, by false doctrines critically con-

sidered and improved and perhaps finally gaining the truth. While the warmth of the spirit of the Hellenes increased in individuality, their knowledge of a reason for the order that waxes not old, both of deathless nature and the soul of man, their knowledge of an ethical law was growing onward to clearness. Then too they said, as our scientists to-day have said, nature by its very uniformity teaches and guides to right action. They sought to find the law of the order and of the right.

DEVELOPMENT OF LYRIC POETRY: NATIONAL GAMES OF THE HELLENES

In spirit, as in outward form, the art which the Hellenes developed in this age of individualism must be the antithesis of the art of the heroic time foregone, the simple yet majestic lay. Diligently rounded hexameters of the old art, solemnly intoned by a rhapsodist, seized upon and swayed the mind of listener into forgetfulness of self. Those older times were not unlike later days of European feudalism when the strength and possessions and even the lordship of the

baron lay in his conserving the old religious and political consciousness of the people; he nurtured minstrels who sang the days of the Nibelungen, or of Arthur's knights and court.

Homer's great epic gave no consciousness of the growth of the every-day man, no note of the every-day man's sorrow, joy, or triumph, no expression of that emotion at large among the people. Its soul was aristocratic. Neither in theme nor in art did it recognize the quickening of the Greek imagination toward democratic needs and equalities in life. It was what Dion Chrysostom leads Alexander to say centuries later;—"The poetry of Homer is the only poetry I see to be truly noble and splendid and regal, and fit for one who will some day rule men." It was a sedative. By its mere weight of the past, by the grandeur of its flowing stream and its perfect art, it hypnotized the Hellene who came to its recital with sentiments of revolt against the old order in his breast.

Framed in the resplendent and dramatic setting of a court, or of a festival's recital, the fluent lays pushed to a dwindling distance the Greek's quickening towards his own time and emphasis of his own wants; they wiped

memories of near-by griefs away, and lulled and soothed a mind overwrought with burdens at hand into a placidity which, in mirroring the poet's ideas, must lose consciousness of its own self-will. As the Hellene listened his sense of a social life approved by his forefathers, a life which the gods had loved even to walking and dwelling with men, his interest and pride in deeds of the Hellenic spirit, his sympathy and faith, would rise uppermost.

The dignity and correctness of the moving story appealed to his race imagination. The broad and brilliant pictures it brought before his eyes, grouped and word-painted and harmonized with unsurpassed taste, the humming cadences of the dactyl, the beat of arsis and thesis suggesting steadiness and repose, held him apart from his time. They led him to forget himself, his seething discontents, his growing self-consciousness and urgent self-expression, the literalists who were leading his rebellion. In its art and ritual the overawing, hypnotizing old epic order crushed the growing sentiment of the new man and his beginning of definite thinking. Its lien upon the evolving Greek was not unlike the reten-

tion the Hebrew scriptures, recited in their synagogues, made later upon the Jews—except that with the Hebrews the books were kept “holy,” apart. It was not unlike what ecclesiastical ritual and hierarchic display make upon democracy to-day.

An over-bearing conservatism creates an artificial type of life, which can rarely appreciate its own artificiality. Greek epos had formalized, had put into permanence, the simple humanizing of nature by the people of its eld and the groupings of men in polity. The ardor of a long line of poets had formed a supreme art and through its medium an objective religion. Poets had for generations elevated the race's taste. In the old religious forms, even without a priest, the Hellene had come to have dogmatic utterance. No longer did the dogma satisfy. Its utterance became more and more mediocre. Poets refused to smother emotion in the old-time heroics. In art the new impulses of the Hellenic spirit must breathe. Poetry that reflected the feeling of the day, the emotion of their world, was coming to recognition and within the life of the people, and in its onward surging was evolving new forms for its

expression. Now that old political forces were disappearing and the individual was substituted for the group, each individual life was acquiring fresh impulse and spontaneous movement, and there was growing individual obligation. And, as we have seen, the new order brought belief of the possibility of individual inspiration in religion itself.

Urged on by the changes and vicissitudes of the commonweal in its attempted conquest of the present, urged by the bolder spirits and the tenets of his new religion, the less radical Hellene was learning that he too, his lot, his hopes, his fears, were accountable units. He was beginning the frankest liberty of speech when circumstances moved his mind. His unreserved personal experiences met sympathy. His sentiments interested his fellows whether he spoke of the pleasure he enjoyed, or the injustice and ills he suffered. Songs were now picturing the people, what they felt, what they thought. Hymns of thanksgiving, hymeneals, funeral dirges and rustic carols of simplest form had been chanted in Greece from time without record. Now they were essaying to interpret the content of the people's vision more completely,

their world, their labor and their love. Poetry was becoming popular in another sense. Before it had been popular in the meaning that it was beloved by the people and voiced their race sentiment. Now through the evolution of lyrics it was becoming popular in the sense that it told individual sentiment and life. The epos was monumental. A folk is not known, however, by the mighty monuments of its spirit alone. Its art is found also in minuter and universal products cut by the folk hand and loved by and expressing the folk heart.

An intense community life, ardent loyalty to the evolving state, now led the inspired singer to political and warlike hymns. His state, that is his city and its adjoining territory, was foremost in the mind of every Greek. It was to him a union which called into being and brought to practice the best powers of even the flimsiest characters. In the painful struggles of the new time the elegy was born, in meter almost twin-sister of the epos. The epic's swing and stateliness lay in the elegy's first verse. By reducing the second line to five feet the singer made the surge of the thought turn about

upon itself, thus breaking the impulse and giving a pause and suggesting reflection—all fair signs of need in the new individualism. The reflection the verse suggested also introduced a skepticism which was allied to a disintegration of the old religious order. Departure from the established hexameter meant that centuries of the lyric age would soon be speeding.

The couplet of the elegy *fluted*, for the word it is claimed first meant a reed flute. Its clear and individual note gave voice to interests as varied and broad as prose, then undeveloped, might have done. Bravery and devotion to the state breathed in the war-campaign verse of Tyrtaeus, earliest of the Ionian elegists, so-called the lame school-master from Athens, who sang for the Spartans with Doric religiosity and veneration for the past, the most famous of his elegies, "Good and Lawful Order." His marching songs, which were not elegies, expressed the primal instinct of the people for whom he sang, and their feeling of race, of military domination, and, sounding a patriotic clarion to sinking hearts, incited the Spartans by bold advance to regain their old-time lands.

Spartan soldiery when campaigning, after the evening meal and their singing in popular chorus a pæan to the gods, vied with one another for a repetition best befitting the force and beauty of these military chants. This may have been between the years 645 and 628 before Christ.

Reflections upon the condition of life, its politics, its philosophy, appear in the vigorous elegies of Solon which mirror his noble life, and in the sententious maxims, replete with human spirit, of other elegists. These, called gnomic because of their detachable sentences reflecting on moral ideas, had enduring force through generations of Hellenes. In later centuries, in the Greek youths' education they stood side by side with the seminal poems of Homer and Hesiod in inbreeding seeds of virtue and the conduct of life. "From the noble you will learn what is noble; if you mix with the base, you will lose what wits you have," wrote Theognis, who taught piety, respect and the moderation of the old reverent fear, *aidos*. Through these centuries the later moral tradition of the race was slowly formed, embodied in verse and handed down from generation to generation—a form

of growth of all civilized society. In the old Greek education such ethical precepts, born of the reflective spirit, of the elegy, were of inestimable value.

The elegy expressed also, possibly from poets affected by contact with the oriental luxury of the Lydians but intellectually of Greek impress, the light jest and mediocrities of after-dinner clubs, the fleeting joys of youth and hatred of old age, when recital in lighter manner than the epic filled the hour. Singing at banquets was a race-old custom, the banquet itself was of a religious character, and the elegy may have served as a kind of grace. But its reflective break determined the verse more especially for proverb and ultimately for sadness and lament.

During these changing generations, when appreciation of the new had not fully realized itself, that is, in the passage from the old epic simplicity to subtler conditions, the elegy sang profoundly the cry of the Greek spirit at the instability and uncertainty of human affairs. "Small is the strength of man," lamented Simonides, a later poet, "unconquerable his sorrows. Through his brief life grief treads on grief, and death hangs

over him at last." And with true Dorian instinct decrying the degrading effects of money,—believing with the Greeks at large wealth a good and desirable thing, but with property must go education, a regard for its use in a wise effective to all—an elegy of Theognis sings, "We use care in choosing the best race of horses, but a noble man marries a mean-born woman straightway, if she brings with her money, and a woman does not reject a man if he is rich." Thus the elegy came to be one articulation, one outgrowth, in the Hellene's divinely energetic genius for expressing the varying moods of the human soul.

Self-reliance in the affairs of life and of state grew apace. Activity in all the Greek's interests increased. His metrical way had already come to the independent iambic, the darting, shooting meter of raillery and invective, mythed as the invention of the maid Iambe when she would draw a smile from the sad-hearted mother of Persephone, and developed in the feasts of Demeter at Eleusis on days licensed for keen and unrestrained jocosity.

Here again we have the differentiating,

that adaptation of form to substance, that harmony rooted in the Greek temperament, in which the vigorous, creative taste of the Hellene invariably showed itself. Each new out-springing of their genius was profound and rational. It was also ethical and æsthetic. Behind it some race need, some distinct cause, had vitalized it into form and distinguished it from its brothers. And each separate expression in his literature, each special substance of thought and feeling having crystallized its technical form, never outgrew artistic and well-defined limits. The swift beat of the iambic, impetuosity, strength and pungency, marked it for sallies of ridicule and scorn. It was fitted for recitative.

The poet whose hate-poisoned passion and unbridled invective seized the lilt for festival-day rites and used it with consummate art, was Archilochus, who is said to have written so early as the year 688 before Christ. Contemporaries of his, and the after world of Hellas, marveled at his fierce personal satire and exuberant caricature. He united the new genius of democracy from his mother, a slave woman, to the old in his father, an Ionian noble, and thus seems to have been

n essential need of his time. His forceful and original spirit marks the complete break with the old traditions of poetry. He proved, even by foul-mouthed charges against the girl he had wanted to marry and her family, that now there was a popular sentiment in the relaxation of Ionian life to which the singer could appeal. When he wrote of throwing away his shield in battle and fleeing for safety, he showed there were people who would justify his deed. In the brisk retort of iambs, also, Solon of Athens defended his failing statesmanship.

Elegiac and iambic reached toward the pure lyric. Lyric expression is more impetuous, more profound—quite apart from its music and the poise of its dance. Lyric inspiration, we should note, and the so-called lyric madness, were of the ecstasy of the spreading Orphism, at one with the divine enthusiasm of Dionysus. Indeed the Bacchic hymn in its early time expressed the Hellene's amaze and worship, his pious joy in stimulating generative processes and glorifying the god in the springing of the year, his thanksgiving and his lament at the divinity's mysterious decay after the reaping.

The spirit of the Hellene could not have become independent in its lyric expression, could not have stood by its own strength, without the development of writing and the diffusion of the art. Communication no longer depended almost wholly on word of mouth transmission. By bringing in the papyrus that grew in the shallows of Egyptian waters, Greek trade supplied a ready material to poetry's support. This aid began about the year 660 before Christ. Upon the papyrus' slender slips a form of poetry, short and easily handed about, might circulate, might enter the intimacies of life and partake of their spirit. Enjoyment of the lyric, then, would depend no longer on the chanter's word of mouth. Solitary reading would become possible and its sequent independent reflection. Knowledge would increase. The scenic epic recital of the rhapsodist would be still more infrequent—even if, in the growth of democracy, courts for its pageantry were becoming fewer.

In a manner, but, we must remember, under far different social conditions, just as we moderns through the evolution of movable type developed the novel to universalize

and formalize current phases of life in place of the drama which, when the imagination of man was freed, burst on the world in the days of Elizabeth, so in those old Greek centuries, through the coming in of the Egyptian writing-slips, the Hellene might take to himself a secluded and individual entertainment. Like our novel the lyric was an abettor of democracy. Indeed, from its flexibility and inclusiveness, one might say that it had also kinship with that most catholic servant of the written word, journalism. In ruder surroundings than a noble's court, with the simple comradeship of simple friends, or in choral worship of some god, or in solitude, the Hellene might now enjoy his day's compositions—verses on delicate papyrus telling of his fellows' sentiments and interests. Still the lyric was memorized also.

And poetry to those old Hellenes was not an affair of the closet, an enjoyment to confess with a blush, as with us to-day. Nor were they so distraught by diversity and multiplicity that they had not intension of mind to listen and enjoy. The art in multiple forms was one expression of their energy, and a significant voice of their race. It en-

tered their life just as the beauty of nature entered. It was original in the instinct and natural gift of the people. It was largely and intimately theirs. It was their education and a part of their religion. Through his inspiration the poet stood apart and had a closer communion with divine powers than other men. Poetry was a possession of every Hellene, and had been from those times whose mists conceal their early morning, when doubtless, minstrel or rhapsodist was a scrippless tramp. It was continued in the long cultivation of the epos. When the muse turned to the people and sang in forms of the melos, it was not wholly to please but to induct to facts of life, to teach in agreeable way the action and feeling and character of men and women, to give a body to philosophy. The poet sang so racial and so human a song, whether for marching soldiers, their victory in battles, their patriotic fervor, or a hymn to a god, a dirge, a wedding-joy or other convivial meeting, that he might celebrate heroes and their commensal gods, or so simple a social member as a grinder of corn or an itinerant vine-trimmer and his fellow-wayfaring swallow of the spring.

The flowering of Greek lyric poetry into perfect self-expression followed, by old-time legend, the stringing of the lyre of four strings, which had served for the chanting of the epic lay, to the compass of an octave. This evolution is ascribed to the hand of Terpander of Lesbos and the year 669 before Christ. Terpander not only expanded the lyre, his work incited others to improve the shrill flute, and he also composed music for the religious chant called a nome. "Zeus, first cause of all, leader of all; Zeus, to thee I send this beginning of hymns," is ascribed to him as the beginning of such a lyric. Music with the Greeks was simple, and used to "sweeten," as they said, the words.

The outbranching of music evidences the growth of reflective brooding in the Greek spirit.

Verses breathing individual emotion will not suffer the metes and bounds of invariability. Impassioned poetry falls into rhythm, metrical form. It hastens; it rests in the irregular and capricious movement we call *tempo rubato*. It sings itself; that is, it demands a voice, a singer. Thus it unites with the music of the lyre. Moreover, the

singer sympathizing with the song's meter can not help his body's falling into animated gesture and beating responsive to the measure. He would aid language in the expression of thought. So dance took men's form from every-day walk or slouch to regulated and studied movement. Thus elaborated, mimetic singing and dancing, which enlist and train ear and voice and eye and foot, grow from the poem of emotion. For the interweaving and exchange of the dance there was to the Hellene religious exaltation—their demiurgus, Eros, in the primeval motion of the choric passages of stars and constellations had set their great prototype.⁹

Of the theme and emotion of Greek lyrics the more elastic and individual belonged to the Æolians. But in Lesbos, home of Æolians, the lyric genius of perfect monodic song appeared and dured only so long in that Greek day as the sunlit sparkle and strong discharge of a shower lasts in summer. A surpassing natural beauty crowned their is-

⁹ In other religions than the Greek, dances had, and still have no small part. Christian churches were once built to accommodate dancing, of which, it is claimed, bishops were leaders.

land. Vine and shrub and tree of hill and vale, bright blue skies, and warm, circumambient seas urged the spirit's intensity and passion. Vehemence and concentration of feeling characterized its folk, especially its oligarchy. They were sensuous, rich from a maritime commerce, luxury-loving from Asiatic influence—here in these times of Lesbos must have been an early conflict between oriental and Greek ideas. Perhaps they were familiar with the fancies and abandon of Lydian and Phrygian song and mode. They were generously filled with Greek ardor for beauty. Men and women alike were educated and free.

Such conditions, their land hemmed in, their evolution not expressing itself in the interests of their larger group, the Ionians, political unrest and an irresponsible tyrannus throwing the human soul back upon itself and penning its impulses—all conditions filled their art and their atmosphere with a special electric force. In brilliant summer skies lightnings sometimes leap from cloud of light to cloud of light. So passionate lyric outburst charged with its genius the human spirit of the island. A new message fulgur-

ated from the soul of its children—its delivery intense and extreme from the singer's bursting of old bonds and the drenching of the island with beauty.

In Lesbos the individual found supreme expression; harmonies of sound and form exquisite blending. Sappho's "utterance mingled with fire," her lucidity and simple melody, her sensibility to the loveliness of nature, her flame-like emotion, declare that man had reached his full stature of love. No writer ever wrote down so magically the inmost feeling of the human heart, never so mysteriously crystallized that fire of the soul in human speech.¹⁰

¹⁰ Near the middle of our last century Swinburne wrote of her in her own Sapphic meter:

Ah the singing, ah the delight, the passion!
All the Loves wept, listening; sick with anguish,
Stood the crowned nine Muses about Apollo;
Fear was upon them,

While the tenth sang wonderful things they knew not.
Ah the tenth, the Lesbian! the nine were silent,
None endured the sound of her song for weeping;
Laurel by laurel,

Faded all their crowns; but about her forehead,
Round her woven tresses and ashen temples

Sappho's translucent verse has never palled upon the taste of any succeeding century, although in succeeding centuries a monkish zeal, distorting in short and narrow vision the meaning of an exquisite product, may have destroyed it in part. Certain in Greece, and later, have blackened the name of this great genius—certain whose prejudice heats and smolders at a woman's overstepping the reticence prescribed by social convention, others who merely pruriently scandalmonger and ail for a name as target for buffooning wit. Sappho was a gentlewoman of Mytilene, married and blessed with a daughter. She received into her house girls to instruct in music and poetry. The best learning of to-day makes clear her true character, and is inclined to echo the awe-struck sentence of Strabo, "Sappho is something marvelous (*θαυμαστόν τι κρῆμα*); in all history you find no woman to compare with her in any degree."

Man's full stature of pride burns in odes of Alcæus—the fiery, high-spirited, restless

White as dead snow, paler than grass in summer,
Ravaged with kisses,
Shone a light of fire as a crown forever.

tory, hating popular government, rating high his order, resolute even in exile, and finally coming back to Lesbos to accept the clemency of Pittacus whom he had vituperated and whom the people had, in despair at civil discord and seeking relief, made tyrannus.

A place was sanctified the Greeks thought when once visited by the shaft of Zeus. But the shaft, lightning, sterilizes where it strikes. Sterility abode in Lesbos. Poetic brilliance burned to final corruption. Not again did the Æolians give greatly to the spirit of Hellas until in the decline of Greek art and Greek polity.

Æolian songs were made for a single voice to chant to a flute—to listen to for personal pleasure, to bring grace and charm to the feast: Dorian songs for choruses rhythmically dancing as they chanted. Dorian mode and melody, said Aristotle, are ethical; “Dorian music is the gravest and manliest.” Objectivity strongly affected it. This may have come because the Dorians, those aristocrats of war, in their sternness and severity of the military camp, conscious perhaps that their rigidity and decorum frustrated the working of the muse through the individual

artist, and also possibly having a subtle sense that art of the first order unfolds only in long-established and less politically weighted civilizations, rather patronized than themselves composed or wrote verse. They had resort to the Ionians to interpret themselves to themselves.

During those earlier generations gifted singers from the old home of song came among the haughty Dorians, and in their sweet, broad, rustic speech, and uttering their tribal simplicity and strength sang for them, and for pay, the notes of the new time—singers who should add glory to their solemnities and in soaring sweep celebrate their Dorian government, the splendor of Apollo and other gods the Dorians tribally worshiped, and the glorious deeds of their heroes. Alcman, so-called a slave from Lydian Sardis, was among the singers. At Sparta, then a renowned city of Hellas, he found a religious people celebrating festivals to Apollo, to Artemis. Also he found men and women taught in gymnastics and music. Maidens he delighted in training in harmony of voice and motion. The new growth music had lately made he joined with the choric

dance and called upon himself to "sing to the young girls a melodious song in the new fashion." A fragment from one of his graceful parthenia touchingly refers to the old age that now kept him from his wonted drill:—

No longer, maids of honey voice and yearning tones,
Can my limbs bear me. O that I were the cerylus!
Who skims o'er blossoms of the wave together on the
wing
With kingfishers, a dauntless heart, sea-purple bird of
spring.¹¹

¹¹ A second fragment of the genius of Aleman is one of the evidences, to which we have referred on pages 56 and 77 foregoing, of the appeal to the Hellenes of night and its mysterious solemnity. The fragment tells in exquisite completeness how the sleep of nature roused the Hellene's sentiment.

Aleman may have composed his verse as he stood under midnight stars in the vale of Lacedæmon, his imagination passing from the peaks of neighboring Taygetus, down through the peopled forests of the mountain sides to the Mediterranean which washes the base:

The range's peaks, and their gullied sides, lie wrapt in
sleep;
The jutting headlands and swoln mountain torrents;
Things that creep, all whatsoever the black earth doth
nourish;
Beasts that haunt the heights; the swarms of bees;

A cadence of harmonized voices united with the stately and semi-dramatic dance, was an essential to the chorus. Such solemn and rhythmic music was at one with the race's prepossessions. It held together the spirit of the people in their all-important relation to the state, and it kept their health. It kindled the gods to kindness. Its very being and practice were virtuous recognition of the gods' powers.

The Greeks, now congregated in cities, would preserve the old epic religious unity. Knowing the impossibility for the poor or average citizen to give festivals, to have a sanctuary, to sacrifice to the gods, they shared such religious ritual in common. Delight in a common possession led tribe, guild, trades-union, club and even cities to support choruses. Men and women of a community, picked singers and dancers, clad in canonical robes and crowned with the velvet-leaved daphne or other green garland, singing hymns

Flocks of swift-winged birds;
And in the deeps of the purple sea huge monsters;
—All wrapt in sleep.

Doubtless the Greek poet's lines suggested our modern Goethe's "Ueber allen Gipfeln ist Ruh."

to the flute's accompaniment, wound marching through their pellucid air—such a procession the Parthenon's graceful frieze has saved to us. They danced themes, subjects, somewhat as our modern ballet, but then in statelier liturgy of church and city. The end of their pilgrimage was the shrine of some god whom the singers sought to glorify by strophe and antistrophe of choric song and the solemn rhythmic paces of choric dance.

In this lyric activity every city had its composer, the chorodidasculus, who trained the chorus. Contests for excellence were common, and certain families handed down the art, as craftsmen handed their artistry, from father to son. Many types of songs resulted from this race-interest and race-hymn, such as the grave and graceful pæan to Apollo danced in parallel files. Also the dithyramb to Dionysus often tumultuously circling, mimetic of the mysterious god of inebriety at the vintage festivals. To all festivals, said Plato, "the gods pitying the race of mortals born for sorrow and toil gave the Muses, and Apollo, and Dionysus for comrades." But whatever the nature of the song, whether of sumptuous revelry, of pure nobility, or of

mere elegance, the race's æsthetic instinct ever fitted form and spirit, and developed a complete art product.

Evolution of the Greek lyric continued when Stesichorus of Sicily whose very name "marshal of the chorus" tells his life, secularized the choral lyric and with an almost epic weight sang of heroes. Then also the distinguished genius of Simonides of Ceos composed encomia in more human, more graceful and less intense way upon winners of Olympian victories, and upon others illustrious for their deed or public life. His exquisitely simple and solemn threnody on Leonidas and his band dead at Thermopylæ bears out his mellow, human note, and other monumental epigrams show the perfection with which an Ionian expressed Dorian feeling and for the first time, or if we count Homer's *Iliad*, for the second time, uttered the pan-Hellenic victory over the barbarian. Simonides was the first pan-Hellenic lyricist.

Strophe and antistrophe of the choral lyric, and the rhythmic movement of the choric dance, celebrated also some victor of the Hellenic games at the singing of Pindar. For such winning "the Theban eagle" wound

his song through many a labyrinthine myth. "Let us not think," said he, "to praise a place of festival more glorious than Olympia."

Olympic games had their origin, perhaps, in a religious rite, and a seasonal rite promotive of fertility, to the great goddess of the early *Ægean* peoples; with *Achæan* influence transferring their honors to Zeus, and finally circling the tomb of the traditional *Pelops* for whom *Hercules*, son of Zeus, "having fenced about the *Altis*," said *Pindar*, "marked off the bounds of it. Therein he set apart the spoils of war for an offering, and made sacrifices and instituted the fifth year feast." The contest, it is claimed, originally determined the victor of a band of young men. He should embody the vigorous spirit and fortune of the folk for the new year coming and drive out the old spent year.

The highway to Olympia the Hellenes esteemed a *via sacra*, and violation of the territory in which the games were held, a sin against the majesty of Zeus. From the slopes neighboring the stadium, forty thousand onlookers, it has been computed, might

have watched contestants, who, as they entered the stadium, had met in the altar to the athlete god, vital, momentous opportunity, "the chance central of circumstance," *καίρως*, promptings triumphantly to energize the decisive moment of action, to bring to one supreme effort all forces of body and will.

The contest fell at the full of the moon in August or September, in the riant atmosphere, on the fat plains, and amid the olive groves of Elis. After their full evolution during these centuries of the Hellenes' growth, the Greek world esteemed a victory, when, sang Pindar, "all the warrior company thundered great applause," beyond all other possessions. A wreath of leaves cut with a golden sickle from "the wild olive of the beautiful crown," and given within the temple of Zeus,¹² a branch of palm, a canonizing in the Altis were the prize of the victor. There was also a soul-animating celebration of himself in choral chants of triumph and prayer and libation to the god. Poets of ex-

¹² Perhaps in later years the olive crown was given before the Pheidian gold and ivory statue of Zeus, the sublimity of which antiquity extolled as the highest creation of art.

alted muse sang his achievement and dwelt upon his reincarnating the virtues and prowess of old heroes. Triumphant choric chanting of the encomiastic ode at his homecoming followed, and was perhaps the victor's chiefest glory, for he had seemingly brought undying fame and honor to his city.

Other games, the Pythian, honoring Phœbus Apollo, god of the golden lyre as well as golden bow, spiritualized beyond the physical rigor of the Olympic by their musical contests, that is, by singing to the accompaniment of flute and cithara, or independent playing of the cithara or flute. At the "seat of the voice of God," Delphi, the Greeks celebrated these fine arts once in eight years, and long before they added gymnic struggles and the chariot race. A chaplet of bay leaves picked in the Vale of Tempe was the prize. The Isthmian games in honor of Poseidon at Corinth may have had a regatta in addition to musical competition and athletics. Their award was a wreath of dried celery or pine leaves. The game to Nemean Zeus, in the cypress grove of Nemea, like the Isthmian held in the second and fourth year

of each Olympiad, had for its victor a crown of fresh celery.¹³

Such national, pan-Hellenic games, a form we must remember of the Greeks' humanizing religion, a witness of the spiritual unity of the body-social, evolved especially during these agitated centuries of Greek life, and were in the height of their development in the glorious days immediately to follow. They united the old Hellenic naturalism, physical fitness—a necessity to their life in their frequent wars—to the idea of the new, closely knit life and state, that the gods delighted in the spectacle of well-balanced, vigorous bodies developed in the perfection of health and strength. The vitality of Greek athletic festivals lay in this. Virtue and beauty to the Greeks, early and late were the same flower of human life. "There can be no fairer sight," wrote Plato, "than that of a man who unites moral beauty in his soul with

¹³ "Heavens! Mardonius, against what sort of men have you led us to fight, men who make games not for the sake of money, but for honor!" the pusillanimous Xerxes is reported by Herodotus to have said to a chief instigator of his expedition, one day between the Persian army's action at Thermopylæ and the disaster at Salamis.

an outward beauty of form, the body corresponding and harmonizing with the soul because the same great pattern is in both." And Socrates hoped that for Charmides, a youth of beautiful figure, a certain something was not lacking—"a soul as well developed as his body."

The national game and race worship fraught with rites of joy and gladness focused consciousness growing in art and state, and served as a check to forces decentralizing Greek life. They had a strength and an importance we can not with our times' outlook readily conceive. Unlike modern national and international athletics they were neither "professional," fads for the inept or rudimentary brain nor for the unco rich, nor booms for money-mad speculators. They were rooted, while the Hellene preserved his Hellenism, in race evolution, in ancestral religion, in his character-loving autonomy and its equilibrium. In the days of free Hellas their spirit was fundamental and sound.

Meeting places of the great games, especially Olympia and Delphi, grew to be museums of art, holy cities, treasure-stores of splendid statues, marble and gold and

ivory, and of temples of the gods, depositories of the race's history and of human knowledge.

Within the sacred confines of the games quick-witted Greek met nimble-witted Greek. Whether he went as a private citizen or one of an official embassy representing some western city in Greek Sicily or a community of Hellenes in Asia, he went not as a sight-seer merely, nor even as a revisitor to an ancient home of his race, but as a pilgrim penetrated with reverence for his race's legends of Zeus, with religious awe of the Far-Darter, with devotion to Hercules of the Unconquerable Hands. He came to know other opinions than his own locality's, his tribe's, and to realize anew the unity of his race. Friction with his kind kindled afresh fires of common brotherhood. He exchanged with another usage and ways. He gathered ideas for later thought.

It is not possible to sketch what his vivid and intellectual life won from these meeting centers for his race. On his way to the games, and homeward again, he companioned hardy Greek seamen and traders as their swift, black ship cut the waters of the Mid-

land Sea toward Olympia or Delphi, or Corinth. He fell in association not only with brother Hellene, but with foreign folk. Cunning Asiatic vendors, and, doubtless, adventurous Egyptians, he traveled cheek by jowl with and met in public houses where he sought rest and cheer. At selling booth he saw foreign handiwork. The stimulus his sane and sympathetic travel brought the Greek—the Hellene never laying aside his race-consciousness and race-legend—the gain by fraternizing with another from an opposite quarter, some remote city of the Greek world, or from another race, were of unaccountable importance.

Thus the games developed the Greeks' general knowledge and conserved their religious and political tradition. They stimulated the poet in preparing an aroused and sympathetic audience for his ode. They impelled the architect and sculptor to perfecting statue and pillar and altar and temple. They incited the craftsman of golden ewers, censers, chariots. They urged the breeding of horses. On all sides they promoted sense of beauty and art. In the opportunity they gave rich men to pay for the equipping of

legations and training of choruses, they opened the purse of those possibly without any other merit for civic distinction, and warmed the occasion to their praise. By no way could wealth gain influence and popularity among the Hellenes so genuinely as by augmenting their national festivals and training chorus and actors for religious rites.

The odes which the glory of these national games inspired in the singer were not merely setting out the victory of the citizen. The splendor of the contest and the far-reaching renown of the winner stimulated the poet to review the religious cult, to retell old race myths, to retrace their political bearing, and to show them in a new brilliance. He might parallel the living victor with an old race hero, might trace likeness between the doer of far-off days and the competitor of that present day and thus idealize the living man. Pindar's odes of victory which the Greeks esteemed the best form of their national song, are the still sonorous voices of those pulsing centers of Hellenic life, the national games. The odes tell the religious awe of the poet to which the choric singers and dancers gave interpretation.

The Doric choral seems to have been the organ note of the old Hellenes. Apart from its association with our religious rites our modern organ has a generic quality, impersonality, a voicing in its pulsing notes of united souls rather than the aspiration or desolation or joy of a single being. Its rotund sonority and massive harmonies; its reflective expression of joy, its seriousness, its gravity, its aching melancholy, its triumphant energy and victory and religious peace, may possibly utter the human soul for us of to-day as the choral of the Dorian genius voiced emotions of the Hellenes.

Greek lyric poetry was no less a great expression of the genius of the Greek people than the epic, we have said. In this age of evolving individualism in which we have glimpsed the lyric's evolution, the poet, as in the epic age, was priest and prophet to his people, a giver of religious and ethical maxims. With the gnomic poet this holds true, and also with those later. "The hopes of men are tossed up and down. Let a man remember that his raiment is worn on mortal limbs," wrote the majestic Pindar. "Things of a day! What are we? What are we not?"

Man is a shadow and a dream.'’ The imaginative force and sustained utterance of this great lyricist emphasized Doric religious consciousness and Orphic teachings. Pindar alone of the lyric poets seems to have sung that the soul is immortal, divine, and finally through purgation receives endless felicity.

The lyric was at its height when Sparta, preëminently the city of choric singing was leader in Greece. When the choral song was transplanted to Athens varying religious conceptions and a different tribal and social life diminished its popularity. Among the Dorians centuries of athletic drill and military tactics had given them delight in rhythmic movement. Women, we have seen in Alcman’s verse, as well as men were trained in the art. At Athens, although girls hymned to Pallas as they marched through the roadway and climbed the marble stairs of the Acropolis, yet they were more cut off from free and active life, and their grace and charm could not inspire such poetic ardor as Alcman’s at Sparta. Then also at Athens the choral hymn to Dionysus was ripening into the drama.

Older forms of Greek music were stately

and simple. The poet composed his own music, which reflected his art, and he trained the chorus sympathetically to sing and dance his composition. He was the mouthpiece of ethical and racial feeling. But later than this time, as generations passed, the early choral sublimity, its pure melody united with definite ethical thought became too difficult for disciples of the new education. Degeneration in imagination led to florid and affected and flaccid styles. Music gained supremacy over words, and the lyricist became a verse-writer who took orders for his composition from the musician. Earlier lyrics were contemned. Neglected, they were forgotten. Pride of race and of family would save such poems as Pindar's victory odes. Others would be subject to the caprice of minstrels and only preserved for some passages of special appeal. Lyric composition from its nature abides less easily in the memory than epic lays. With the loss or abandonment of ethical character and simplicity in the music went disregard for the verse. And thus the world lost noble poems.

Modes of fashion in music never change, said Plato, without the greatest laws of the

state changing. The later divisions of Hellas affected the Hellenes' national festivals. Assemblies degenerated. Great odes of victory died out. And finally the elegiac current of time, flowing through the stretches of plain, or barren sand, or dark forest of later centuries, brought down few petals of the splendid roses of Lesbos that Sappho sang, and only broken stems of the barbed nettles of Archilochus—these and a few other remains; and these mainly because teachers of rhetoric for ends of illustration encased excerpts in treatises—writings whose dry imperviousness to flood and color neutral to religious zeal saved the genuine utterance of the human spirit embedded in them.

**FIFTY YEARS OF DISTIN-
GUISHED WORKS**

Progress is, in fact, the same thing as the continued production of new ideas, and we can only discover the law of this production by examining sequences of ideas when they are frequent and of considerable length.—SIR HENRY JAMES SUMNER MAINE, in *Early History of Institutions*.

Whatever be the nature and value of that bundle of influences which we call Progress, nothing can be more certain than that, when a society is once touched by it, it spreads like a contagion. Yet, so far as our knowledge extends, there was only one society in which it was endemic. . . . To one small people . . . it was given to create the principle of Progress. . . . That people was the Greek. Except the blind forces of Nature, nothing moves in this world which is not Greek in its origin. A ferment spreading from that source has vitalized all the great progressive races of mankind.—SIR HENRY JAMES SUMNER MAINE, in *The Effects of Observation of India on Modern European Thought*.

Dear city of men without master or lord,
Fair fortress and fostress of sons born free,
Who stand in her sight and in thine, O sun,
Slaves of no man, subjects of none;
A wonder enthroned on the hills and sea,
A maiden crowned with a fourfold glory
That none from the pride of her head may rend,
Violet and olive-leaf purple and hoary,
Song-wreath and story the fairest of fame,
Flowers that the winter can blast not or bend;
A light upon earth as the sun's own flame,
A name as his name,
Athens, a praise without end.

SWINBURNE, in *Erechtheus*.
202

FIFTY YEARS OF DISTINGUISHED WORKS

A DEFENSIVE WAR: DEMOCRACY IN ATHENS

WITH the Hellenes the inevitable law, gradual transformation through minute, continual change, had been working for centuries. Still no satisfactory solution of the ethical questions of life had they found at any point within the individualistic period of their development. The selfish energy of the age was too great. A sense of the worth of our moral nature had not been wanting. But there was needed a purifying of spirit, an ordeal, an enthusiasm or a woe, to clarify the people's ideas before the supreme blossom of the Greek spirit could unfold its unrivaled splendor to the world. An evolution doubtless more rapid than at any other time among any other people was pending.

Unity the Greeks had—in their language and its treasured poems, in common religious faiths, in festivals of clan and city, and in

national games. "Greece is of one blood, and of one speech," Herodotus reports the Athenians reminding Spartan envoys, "and has dwelling places of the gods in common, and sacrifices and habits and kindred customs." The Hellenes' diversity lay in their political life, in an intense individualistic segregation of the various polities of cities and small states. Their diversity had been disuniting, for instance, the Ionians of the Asiatic coast. Years before these people had revolted against the Persian ruler and his satraps whose conquering empire already extended, wrote Herodotus, from regions of insupportable heat to insupportable cold.

Among these Asiatic Ionians, with their instinct for autonomy there went a suspicious fidelity, distrust of one another's good faith, and sequent lukewarm spirit of coöperation against the Persian; an incapacity to submit themselves to discipline, which was an ill-form of their Greek individualism; and an impatience of steady and persevering toil, which companioned their semi-orientalization. Add to this havoc-working condition the personal jealousies of expelled and pervert Hellenes, the fact that no one of the Asiatic

Greek states possessed the material power, united with energy and ability, to constitute itself uncontroverted leader, and we see how the Persians' lust for empire subjected those islanders. Then, too, terror-stricken at the horrors the Persians visited upon conquered peoples and lands, the Greeks of Asia purposely lessened resistance. Their Hellenic kin on the European mainland, especially the young democrats of Athens, were not blind to the miseries of the Ionian cities and islands of Asia, and the cruelties put upon them by the subjugating and exterminating powers of Persia. The fellow-feeling of the Athenians with their colony and allies, Miletus, for instance, was profound, and when the poet Phrynichus made that city's conquest the subject of a tragedy, their sensibilities, although moved to tears at the theater, measured a thousand drachmas as the right fine for his temerity in "representing to them their own misfortunes."

The enthusiasm which was to unite and definitely to establish the civic life of European Hellas was not long delayed. Hosts collected in Persian Asia and poured down upon the devoted Hellenes. Xerxes, the Per-

sian autocrat, had inherited the idea of the invasion of European Greece. But he lacked the intense wrath against Athens that had stimulated his father Darius, and his expedition he might never have undertaken had not courtiers unceasingly urged him to the conquest—not only Persian courtiers but also treacherous Greeks banished from their home-city for some cause, haunting the palace at Susa, and looking to a restoration of their power under a Persian satrapy.

Probably never before or since, in any recorded history, for one end, under one command, has there assembled a body so great and so diverse and alien as the Persian now led by his personal and despotic will across the Hellespont bridge of boats—seven days and nights it is reported the host was crossing—and towards the slender land of Hellas and its children of light.

Athens and Sparta sought to organize against the barbarian hordes. They united in convening at the Isthmus of Corinth a congress representative of every city-state of Hellenic race and speech. They entreated the broadly scattered Hellenes to come together in trust and brotherhood for the one

purpose needed by the whole Hellenic family—defense of Hellas, preservation of their race-blood as well as of race-spirit.

This general federation, with Sparta as presiding power, sent defenders to stem the Persian onflow. Their stand was at Thermopylæ. How those men discharged their duty in that narrow pass has been for every century since a sublime ensample of patriotic devotion. Not alone the band of Spartans and Thespians, every Hellene not in exile or medizing suffered an equal pitch of resolution. The famed victories of Salamis and Plataea and Mycale followed.

Those contests were fateful days and the sole hope of not only the then Hellenes, but of the heirs of Hellas in the ages to come of a nobly human civilization. To the victors of that day, forcing back orientalism and its invasion of Europe, our civilization owes opportunities to-day. The Asian autocrat had found the Hellenes equal to the reputation Artabanus had given them, "They are a people," he had warned his nephew, "said to be the best both by land and sea."

When we realize the development of Greece in the one hundred years following these

events, and the mighty gift of her spirit to all later times, we stand appalled at what the destinies of mankind would doubtless have been had the Persian hordes precipitated themselves on the Hellenes before their unity was accomplished. It might have happened. Twenty years before a sultana of Darius and the mother of Xerxes, Atossa, at the instigation of a homesick Greek surgeon captive at the court of Susa, had urged such an attack.

Of products of Greek liberty the Persians themselves must for more than a generation, have been conscious. In the expedition of Darius against the Scythians many years before (that is, about 515 before Christ), the Hellenes had effected all operations calling for intelligence. For instance, the Greek architect, Mandrocles of Samos, bridged with boats the Hellespont, and the Ionians of the islands and the Asiatic coast had united to put a span over the Danube, then esteemed, says Herodotus, the greatest of rivers.

So necessary to give complete realization to the national spirit was this struggle the people now undertook, that its issuance at this juncture seems providential. To the

Greek generations that followed it was a religious drama setting out the profoundest sentiments of the Hellenes. It expressed an ethical sense attributed also to the Persians: "God permits no one to have high thoughts but himself," an old uncle had cautioned Xerxes.¹ In his drama of "The Persians" Æschylus leads the ghost of Darius to utter a kindred sentiment, "When anyone, himself, hastens to ruin, God abets him."

In resistance to the Persian the Greek became conscious of his own superiority—conscious of his freedom and his thought which were the ground of his superiority. Persia was in externals more civilized than Greece. Luxury was better understood at Susa than at Athens, and industries were more diversified in the enormous cities of old Assyria and of Egypt than in Hellas. But the mind of Persia was stationary: the spirit of Hellas progressive. Nowhere save in Greece had men learned to think, and to depend upon their own spirit for guidance. This lesson the Hellenes had been getting by heart

¹ In this, and also in other speeches of Persians quoted from Herodotus, the sentiment is, probably, Greek.

through the foregoing centuries of struggling individualism. The great war in which their skill in military combination and orderly courage triumphed over unorganized, inefficient force and the imbecile self-acclamation and fatuous confidence of Persia, wrote it before their eyes in sun-clear truth.

When her people had pushed back the barbarians' chaotic force Greece came out brighter and stronger than before. The iron of her spirit had been heated. She had been in the furnace and forge of a defensive war. She had needed to be molded by such blows as only the formidable empire of the Persians could give before she could stand to later peoples the invincible, self-conscious embodiment of her Pallas Athene. She had come to the highest plane of national life. She was conscious of carrying and sustaining the spirit of her race. She had made evident that the difference between Hellene and barbarian was the difference between free culture and routine, liberty and slavery, progress and stagnation, humanity with its instrument of reason and dæmonism.

A successful carrying through of a great military movement actively stimulates the

political sentiment and the consciousness of citizenship, and leads to demand for fuller and completer political dignity. Athens had been the life and soul of the Greeks' resistance to Persian invasion headed by Datis ten years before the inroad of Xerxes. At that time the combat and victory at Marathon of her "embattled farmers," citizen-democrats, single-handed save for their brethren from Plataea, had given surpassing example of the stoutness of heart and the clarity of head her institutions engendered.

Thus during these wars and so at their end, Athens came forth with startling brilliance. She had made evident that she had the vigor, self-confidence and aggressive activity to execute what her spirit had thought out, that she was filled with ardor and patient of labor. "We ourselves know the power of the Persian is many times greater than ours," said the Athenians before the battle of Plataea to a medizing Thessalian king, an envoy of the Persians; "It is not necessary to insult us with that. Nevertheless we so cling to freedom that we shall use what strength we have. Do not try to persuade us to come to terms with the barba-

rian. We never shall. Tell him the Athenians say that as long as the sun goes in the path in which it now moves, they will never come to terms with Xerxes. Bring us no such proposition again. Think not to succor us by persuading us to unrighteousness."

Like all Greek states Athens was small, and each citizen fulfilled his duties directly in person, not by deputy. For a quarter of a century before Thermopylæ constitutional democracy had prevailed. Under it the Athenian character had developed marvelously. Self-government had become habitual. The people had learned to determine for themselves, and to accept the decision of the majority. They were active. They were daring. They had patient endurance. They had energy to work—that high energy that comes from consciousness of real greatness. They had the matchless discipline that works give. Their organizing energy had increased their power of resistance. The spirit of even the poorest had caught the glow of political equality, the pride of the service of public life, the ideal of the city-state that shone before the Hellenes for generations, long before Plato constructed his perfect state—the

faith that he, the man of simple life, also was a contributing part to the beauty and symmetry. Attica was now one and indivisible.

But how were affairs moving in that cluster of villages that formed the heart of Laconia in the middle valley of the Eurotas?—in “lovely Lacedæmon?” Sparta’s long-settled constitution, her rigid Dorian life and discipline, and her organized “war-men” had in the past given her an ascendancy and the presidency of the pan-Hellenic union. More than ten years before the Persian snuffing-out at Plataea and Mycale, when the people of Ægina gave earth and water to heralds of Darius in token of their submission, the Athenians preferred complaint at Sparta that the Æginetans had been guilty of treason to Hellas. “For the general benefit of Hellas,” therefore, Sparta dealt with the Æginetans. These deeds first manifested Hellas as an aggregate body.

But now flagrant misconduct of Spartan power brought into clear light Athens’ efficient command and preëminence. A powerful and voluntary movement proclaimed her leader at sea. This had its spring in a sense of justice. Still it meant that a schism had

cleft the national polity, but little before shining with great evidence to the eyes of all men. The divided spirit Athens and Sparta embodied now divided the Greek world. In every city-state political divisions between the oligarchic and democratic faction lay, that is, in sympathies with the energetic democracy of Athens, whose ascendancy was awakening the jealousy of the conservative allies of Sparta, or in support of conservative, home-keeping traditions of Sparta allied with the Peloponnesian states and landmen and with native oligarchs inimical to organized union of states. The struggle was between oligarchic and democratic faction within the town, we said. Whatever their affiliation, there remained the belief, instinctive in the mind of Hellenes, that in every city-state autonomy was necessary to free citizens.

Maritime states freely and spontaneously gravitated toward radical Athens, aggressive, energetic, keeping to steady effort, organizing the navy supplied for expelling the barbarians from the *Ægean*, collecting taxes levied for their common security, enforcing loyalty to a great pan-Hellenic purpose, mak-

ing confederacy against the Persians an efficient working reality. For the new Hellas Athens was virtually leader. Her very geography had destined her for the most perfect of the city-states. In gifts of the spirit she had focused the many-sidedness of Greek life and embodied its unity.

Athens was now become the citadel, "the asty of Hellas," as Isocrates later called her. Her name meant Hellas. Within herself her children were illustrating the economic law of the most vigorous social systems—of the individual, he having the highest possible development of his own personality, subordinating himself to the interest of the social whole.

Athens found her headship complete when, attracted by her success, new allies sought her leadership, and the common funds of the League of Delos were transferred from the island of Delos to the acropolis of Athens. The form of her dominion was a protectorate, the preservation of which seemed to be one with her own life. By force of circumstances she had become head of a compact which bound each individual state and, by their good-will and agreement, mistress of an irre-

sistible navy. An empire through gradual and unforeseen stages was thrust upon her.

With security and peace the idea of development burgeoned in Attica. Its fruits should be political right and order which their Solon of earlier centuries had sought. In spite of political control by landed families, the idea, we have said, had been in Athens, the idea of a democracy, self-governing and responsible to itself—a democracy increased by wealth from growth of industry and commerce and the wants of a prospering middle class; also by a large body of navy coming to the fore, for “wooden walls,” ships manned chiefly by marines of lower orders, had saved Athens at the battle of Salamis.

Free male Athenians who had reached the age of manhood formed the Assembly meeting, three or four times a month, in the open air, on a hillside, the Pnyx, and with characteristic Athenian religiosity opening its sittings with prayer. The prerogative of the body was supreme power in all most important matters of state. A council of Five Hundred managed details of the business, and es-

pecially they considered and sanctioned every law proposed to the Assembly.²

New life and new sense of responsibility and power also developed among the poorer people by the establishment of a jury, which judged of law as well as of fact³—paid courts often panels of five hundred men each. The Council of the Areopagus before this had been a court of special importance and brilliance, its members elected for life. It was doubtless a continuation of the old Homeric council of elders, and had a semi-religious weight, carrying in itself admonitory and censorial powers over the whole people, and possessed of a moral influence that outweighs the opinion of a mere court of justice. The prestige of this senate of the Areopagus, Pericles and his associates, in the radical movement now going on in 463–2 before

² This rule preserves a relic of Solon's check to the democracy he expanded against the oligarchs, namely, that selected men should first approve every proposal brought before the yearly meeting of citizens. Pay for attendance at the sovereign Athenian Assembly did not begin till later, when an allotment of three obols a day attracted the poor and unemployed.

³ Sometimes, in eminent modern opinion, confounding law and fact,

Christ, distinctly lessened. The new juries almost stripped the court of judicial power. Such an act alone meant a minimizing of the conservative and aristocratic influence. In these times also choice by lot was established for archonship and election to the Council of Five Hundred, and every citizen had the chance of holding political office.

Heretofore the active life of the Athenian men had been mainly in military affairs. Now it was in civic functions. The jury courts of perpetual session were a consummation of the democratic sentiment. The number of the jury, the impossibility of foreknowing who would sit in a cause, and the secret vote defended its members from corruption and fear. Each citizen member must have become thirty years old; therefore they were mature in judgment.

These courts were solemn from sheer numerical force. They stimulated to, and also gained from, the just, measured balancing to which the Hellenic mind was especially sensitive. They roused thought and consciousness of the dignity of citizenship. Their weakening effect was that, absorbing his time in discussion and judging, they neces-

sitated the giving over by the qualified Athenian of business duties to the excluded slaves, freemen and foreigners. In these higher aims for the elect, there must have grown a contempt for trade or wealth-getting, and for whatever occupation might so absorb a man that he had not ample leisure for the corporate activities of the state—a contempt, finally, after several decades, elaborating into the dilettant spirit we find in Hellas—when Hellas was no longer Hellas.

These juries had in their hands the superintendence and competence of affairs of the Athenian empire. Cities that paid tribute to the confederacy—one thousand, Aristophanes says, but the tribute lists give fewer—looked to Athens for arbitration between members, for regulation of state with state, for trial of grave causes and for enforcement of justice and obligations of the confederacy. From Athens' presidency of the union and the empowering of her to enforce her decisions, there gradually grew in her a judicial authority which contributed greatly to the prestige of the Athenian empire.

Two hundred years and more before these times, in the first outburst of the age called

lyric, we have noted how rising emotion of the individual and his self-expression went with the introduction of papyrus, a record easily got for personal utterance. Again popular media developed power of self-expression. In these jury courts procedure was by word of mouth. The simplest citizen should be able to plead his own cause, to carry the thread of discourse, to reason with brevity, to color his advocacy with ethical sentiment. Oratory, that strange magic art of persuasion, of directing by argument the convictions and wills of one's fellow citizens, always in its uses an associate of free government—*oratory* sprang forward. *Rhetoric* became a preparation for real life.

With the Hellenes' quickness to fit means to ends these juries led to professional speech writers, that is, to writers of speeches for litigants, and uniting with the dialectic development in philosophy, to rhetors and sophists. With such popular courts were not only associated Greek oratory and its allied didactic rhetoric and grammar, but from them ethical philosophy and political had great stimulus. Moreover, they served to in-

crease the respect embedded in the Athenian character for judicial formalities.

Law the Greeks had venerated from the early time of a Lycurgus in Sparta and a Solon in Athens, when its creator was believed to be inspired. This sentiment of theirs had increased in the foregoing centuries of evolving individualism.⁴ In the time of Pericles, when the state was a brotherhood of equal men, spontaneously the Athenians looked for protection to constitutional forms. Laws had life, individuality, speaking personality. During the prevalence of the old education they were not abstractions, not barren principles so remote from every-day life as to be written down and forgotten. In one phase they were even intimacies of the social life, set to music and chanted after dinner. In another, they were the voice of impartial reason, august, moral existences dwelling in the midst of the people, united with whom was good life, freedom. They were persuasive associates, familiars, who attempted to bring and keep among men an ideal justice, as the embodied laws that speak in awe-

⁴ This we have seen on foregoing page 96.

inspiring sentence to Socrates in Plato's "Crito." Laws created the institutions of his state most sacred to the Hellene. Their collective voice was what fellow citizens commanded. "Service to the law is service to the gods," said Plato.

When faith in the laws' relationship with an ideal, divine justice failed, when the individual no longer circumscribed his will to the clarified and systematized will of his fellow-citizens, the institutions they had protected tottered. But still, even at the end of Greek freedom, Demosthenes vigorously taught the Athenians that the law was a part of themselves and representative of the character of all who belong to the state, and they "belonging to themselves" ought to live in accord with it. To do this was freedom.

But now, at this time, Pericles, President of the evolving Athenian democracy, met opposition in a body of conservatives. The reserved nature of the radical leader prompted him to look not to extension of empire, but rather to the ordering and beautifying of that already given. Against his effort to direct democratic zeal, the "honorable and respect-

able'' body of conservatives, the anti-democratic body, contended that upbuilding and beautifying of Athens by money of the confederacy was malversation, that the fund should be spent in active war against the barbarians.

Sensitive to the genius of his day, Pericles answered that the city had already, by the year 466, cleared Europe and the Ægean of the Persian, the end for which the tax was given, that now Athens might rightfully spend a part of the fund in enlarging and strengthening her walls, magazines and docks, in clothing herself in a majesty fitting her as the center of Hellenic feeling, the leader of Hellenic intellect and will, and in delighting her own people and strangers flocking to behold the surpassing beauty of her musical and poetic festivals and the matchless art of her temples. Such work as Athens had undertaken was properly pan-Hellenic, the statesman claimed with irresistible eloquence. A population engaged in Athens' adornment—miners, marble-cutters, masons, carpenters, ivory cutters, goldsmiths, painters, road-makers, tool-makers and mend-

ers, carters, sailors, the body supplying daily needs of these,—all must have upheld this most regal argument.

“We ourselves assembled here to-day,” spoke Pericles in his speech upon those fallen in the first year of the Peloponnesian war (431), “we assembled here to-day, who are still most of us in the vigor of life, have carried the work of improvement further, and have richly endowed our city with all things, so that she is sufficient for herself both in peace and war. Of the military exploits by which our various possessions were acquired, or of the energy with which we or our fathers drove back the tide of war, Hellenic or Barbarian, I will not speak; for the tale would be long and is familiar to you. . . .

“Our form of government does not enter into rivalry with the institutions of others. We do not copy our neighbors, but are an example to them. It is true that we are called a democracy, for the administration is in the hands of the many and not of the few. But while the law secures equal justice to all alike in their private disputes, the claim of excellence is also recognised; and when a citizen is in any way distinguished, he is pre-

ferred to the public service, not as a matter of privilege, but as the reward of merit. Neither is poverty a bar, but a man may benefit his country whatever be the obscurity of his condition. There is no exclusiveness in our public life, and in our private intercourse we are not suspicious of one another, nor angry with our neighbor if he does what he likes; we do not put on sour looks at him which, though harmless, are not pleasant. While we are thus unconstrained in our private intercourse, a spirit of reverence pervades our public acts; we are prevented from doing wrong by respect for the authorities and for the laws, having an especial regard to those which are ordained for the protection of the injured as well as to those unwritten laws which bring upon the transgressor of them the reprobation of the general sentiment.

“And we have not forgotten to provide for our weary spirits many relaxations from toil; we have regular games and sacrifices throughout the year; our homes are beautiful and elegant; and the delight which we daily feel in all these things helps to banish melancholy. Because of the greatness of our

city the fruits of the whole earth flow in upon us; so that we enjoy the goods of other countries as freely as of our own. . . .

“We are lovers of the beautiful, yet simple in our tastes, and we cultivate the mind without loss of manliness. Wealth we employ, not for talk and ostentation, but when there is a real use for it. To avow poverty with us is no disgrace; the true disgrace is in doing nothing to avoid it. An Athenian citizen does not neglect the state because he takes care of his own household; and even those of us who are engaged in business have a very fair idea of politics. We alone regard a man who takes no interest in public affairs, not as a harmless, but as a useless character; and if few of us are originators, we are all sound judges of a policy. The great impediment to action is, in our opinion, not discussion, but the want of that knowledge which is gained by discussion preparatory to action. For we have a peculiar power of thinking before we act and of acting too, whereas other men are courageous from ignorance but hesitate upon reflection. And they are surely to be esteemed the bravest spirits who, having the clearest sense both of the pains and

pleasures of life, do not on that account shrink from danger. In doing good, again, we are unlike others; we make our friends by conferring, not by receiving favors. . . . To sum up: I say that Athens is the school of Hellas, and that the individual Athenian in his own person seems to have the power of adapting himself to the most varied forms of action with the utmost versatility and grace. This is no passing and idle word, but truth and fact; and the assertion is verified by the position to which these qualities have raised the state.”⁵

ARCHITECTURE ADORNING ATHENS: SCULPTURE AND ALLIED ARTS

Arts never equaled in any other fifty years of human history marked the half of a century between two fateful wars. A noble grace, long evolving, matured in the comparative quietude Greece enjoyed, and impelled a most rich and wonderful architectural creation. Now through the unity, energy and excelling strength of the people and times,

⁵ The passage is quoted from Jowett's translation of Thucydides by permission of the Delegates of the Oxford University Press.

Athens came to embody in concrete expression, for many centuries and even to this day, great, formative ideas.

The independent conceptions resting on a common race basis had already given to the Hellenic system of building the styles called Doric and Ionic. Relevancy of means to ends, severe logic, marked the Doric order. In the Doric column, austere, simple, unadorned and with no separate foot, repressive of expression of self, supporting a boldly projecting capital, is traced the Doric idea of the merging of the individual in the mass. It was the form which evolving from the Doric nature, showed how each should contribute to the support of the community. Wholly and entirely each belonged to and must be judged in relation to his value to the state. Standing by itself the column tells the onlooker to expect more than in itself it presents. That is, the spirit of the column is for the whole—its own inner sternly self-centered force expressing security, repressing individual wishes and aspiration, stunts its height which is only five and one-half times its diameter—all to support the great and glorious unit of its architrave, frieze and

the rhythmic adornment completed in the pediment or gable.

The graceful Ionic column, on the other hand, animated, free in play of fancy, demanding and standing on its own base, whose beauty is complete within itself, spending its strength in slender shoots upwards and in airy decoration, is eight and one-half to nine and one-half times its greatest diameter. Its spirit of individual expression inserts a cushion of carved stone between the column and the weight it supports, molds the cushion which must soften the weight, and seizes upon the flower of the honeysuckle, upon leaves of the forest and other lines of grace and delight to the eye to deck its individuality in rich variety.

These two systems, the Doric and Ionic, the age of Pericles blended in the perfect form of the Attic. Subject to Doric influences the Ionic column became less slender. Its capital took on energy in its swelling volutes, and the mass resting on the column more simplicity and emphasis. These modifications conveyed the feeling of strength in the column and sense of the supereminent mass. Exquisite proportion, chaste ele-

gance, richness of decoration yet reserved before luxury, piquancy and mere attractiveness, mark it.

Under the influence of Athenian political freedom art had become pan-Hellenic, and artists might unite the æsthetic genius of the Ægean Ionian, rich, florid, complex, sensitive, and the disciplined order and zeal of the Achæan Dorian. This development in the world of art is one of many evidences that the Greek race was in its perfectness an amalgamation of northern and southern elements—that it possessed the artistic genius of the southern Ægeans, and the instinct and genius filled with a passion for religion and government of northern, Germanic peoples.

It is the age of Pheidias, the matchless sculptor and foreman of public art works at Athens, of the master architects, Ictinus, Callicrates and their fellow workers, all consciously glorifying the unity of Greece in the grace and splendor of temples, and embodying in statues the Hellene's idea of the divine. In Athens rose the Theseum, standing in purity of line to-day and reported built in that day to the mythical champion of

Athenian democracy, Theseus, an entombment for his bones and vesting within itself the privilege of sanctuary to those who were poor and oppressed by cruel usage. The colonnaded Propylæa or Foregate of the Acropolis also arose; the stately Erectheum to protect venerated insignia of an antique, religious legend which connected the snake with underworld power and fertility charm; and the elegant temple of the Wingless Victory. The main body of these temples gleamed with the rich luster of marble, but painting and gilding adorned the upper parts.

The form of the Parthenon, to the cult of Athene Parthenos, tells that the religious base of the spirit that built it was Doric puritanism—throughout Hellas, in fact, Doric forms prevailed as the religious manner. Entrance to the Parthenon's full perfection led through that Foregate, or Propylæa, which united in its fortress-like court Ionic ornament and cheer for festivals with Doric seriousness and strength for defense. In choosing the Doric form for the Parthenon, the subtle sense of the Hellenes for the perfect expression of a spirit merely em-

bodied a law set forth by all later history, namely, that the puritan spirit of a nation is that upon which the nation is upbuilt and round which it centers: in whatever degree that spirit is minimized or nihilized, in so far the national life suffers—perhaps because that spirit demands for itself simplicity, devotion, setting aside of self and trivialities for the commonwealth, and keeping down pride and hollow, deadening ritual that vaunt themselves.

The beauty of these temples of the Acropolis of Athens, it should be noted, was built upon a thoroughly scientific foundation and knowledge of stone construction. Even more:—In their analysis and differentiation of parts, the builders used various devices to heighten their art that our duller sense of to-day only knows through study of their works. The neighboring Mount Pentelicus, pushing its peaked summit into Attic clouds, offered quarries of marble and afforded architect and sculptor abundant supply of raw material for re-creation into perfect form.

What titanic strides the Athenians were taking! In these years of labor they built

the Parthenon, beginning the work in 447 before Christ, and carrying it structurally so far that by the year 438 they dedicated the gold and ivory statue of The Virgin, that is, Athene. What manifestation of their social life the building gives! Upon what conceptions of civic distinction they reared it, that marble hymn to victorious Wisdom, and at last carried on their worship within its walls! To realize it consider again the state of the world about this handful of Aryan folk embodying for the first time ideas of an organized, law-governed, democratic state, and the lucid intelligence of man as its tutelary goddess. Nomadic, unorganized peoples over the mountain cap to the north, groups not unlike westward beyond the coast of the Ionian sea, and gross orientalisms among the hordes within the Persian empire to the east, and south in the Egyptian satrapy. But in the center of the then known world these Hellenes, people of light, themselves evolving and advancing the idea of distinction, a state formed of free individuals and governed by those who formed it, desiring beauty expressed in perfect proportions as they desired the perfection of the people's

civic life. This is the story the building of the Parthenon tells. Religion and democratic zeal have rarely so united to warm the heart of a people.

Heights of devotion chiseled the Parthenon's perfection. And in return, in the great and indefinable action and reaction of race and race-work and the individual, to what inspiration did it hold its people! To the service of the whole body of citizens—not in the individual's dwelling and his ostentatious luxury, but in temple and other public buildings. Their directing divinity, the spirit of clear-eyed Thought, Reason, Reflection, Athene, foster-mother of heroes after the old matrilineal fashion, giver of arts of war and of peace, fertility blessing of the Athenian in granting the nourishing olive and their praiseworthy climate, genetrix of their beloved city, Pheidias had visualized by a statue standing forty-seven feet high in the sanctuary of the Parthenon. The flesh parts of this most noble presentation were Pheidias-carved ivory and the draperies of Pheidias-carved gold. A golden sphinx-mounted helmet covered the erected and stately head of the statue, lance and shield stood on the

ground near by in sign of peace, and from her hand a statue of Victory six feet in height, her wings outstretched, held forward a golden wreath—for in this sanctuary victors in the pan-Athenian games received their prizes. The image featured the people's piety and consciousness that their own intelligence and religious emotion had evolved the idea it represented, and had prompted the great sculptor's ideal.

The Hellenes' clear and fertile imagination humanized, as we have seen, their conceptions of the divine force underlying all phenomena. God took on human form in early times. Sculpture with the Hellenes began its life far back in pre-Greek days, in the images it made to suggest or feature conceptions of the gods. The art was doubtless a chief medium for expressing race feeling and race solution of the passage of man—the never-dying questioning, whence came he?—how wrought he here?—whither went he? Its outworking grew gradually. It reflected mental distortion at times doubtless, and monstrous creations penetrating its centuries of growth. The sculptor was struggling for mastery of the idea and of his material. He

was also failing in his technic. Images attributed to a traditional sculptor, Dædalus, have rigid and conventional forms. From such budding the art flowered in these years of The Great Peace.

In their desire for beauty of form, their flexible, free development of and reverence for the body, the Hellenes apotheosized the body's merits. Greek dress of the classic age, its simplicity, its clinging to the body and portraying shape and movement, increased their sense of beauty of expression. The body's movements and attitudes delineated its spiritual life. This ancient folk not only had not found necessary a depicting perturbing emotion, the soul's shame of the body and poignant writings of the soul upon the face; to their æsthetics such excess was distasteful, false to art canon. Thus their art kept equilibrium. Mind and body, soul and material, worked together in union for the product.

Through this proportion, this balance between soul and body, this check of self-limitation so that neither exuberance of sentiment nor pressure of reason should break poise, the Hellene's genius most naturally

conceived art in plastic expression. And in types. Distinct, unvarying, traditional ideals which possessed the imagination, impelled the great Greek art. The unchanging, an assimilation of the generic forms of life, gave these Hellenes' sculpture stability and raised it above ephemeral fancy and caprice to noble ideals. This was true not only of their sculpture but of all Greek art. Not the accidental, such as the artist might meet in every-day life—not such individualizations; but rather the united consent and coöperation of Greek souls of the group, the truly Hellenic, the universalized and majestic gods and heroes of an earlier day, each having a compacted power of his own, each identified with his own ethical function, each a component of emotions and thoughts and character, each portraying a composite type—"the image," as Dion Chrysostom said, "agreeing with all the epithets of the god."⁶

⁶ A face suffused with such thought and emotion as we assign to an ideally cultivated woman or man we gain in a composition-photograph of two or three hundred educated men or women. Not wholly unlike this photograph Greek sculpture made visible a universalized image of the greater gods.

Just as their sculpture doubtless had birth in their religion, that is, the first subjects modeled by primitive artists symbolized a god, so in ideal images of the immortals the religion of the Greeks found solemn and sublime expression. The people's gratitude for the victory over the Persians and their warring glory Pheidias expressed in another significant work. His bronze statue of Athene Foremost in Battle, made of booty from the battle of Marathon, rose seventy feet in the "dazzling æther" of the city "violet-crowned, glorious." The Pheidian Athene embodied the type of the goddess of the old, matrilineal age, we have said, when, Plato declares, "the business of war had been the common concern of men and women," a goddess who demanded that the hero she had chosen to protect and inspire should do great deeds. Statues of these years alone set out that high companionship. Types of later workers than the Pheidian school, such as the Aphrodite of Praxiteles, are apt to embody ideas of the goddesses when, says a writer of to-day, they had become abject and amorous and sequestered to domestic servility.

A masterpiece of the preëminent Pheidias, the majesty and splendor of the seated Zeus at the common sanctuary of Hellas, Olympia, a statue embodying ethical conceptions of Power, Omniscience, Benevolence, many witnesses declared perfect. "The majesty of the work," said Quintilian, "was equal to the god." While Pheidias was fixing forever the type of Athene and Zeus, in Argos Polyclitus made a gold and ivory statue of Here, spouse of Zeus, "treading in golden sandals," typifying grace and beauty of women of the matrilineal system, reflecting that life and a most perfect physical form. All productions of this age have upon them the unmistakable impress of its spirit.

Before these times of the elevation of Athens, of the art reflective of its political life and exigencies, before these peoples' delight in the ideal representation of their great divinities and great deeds, families and schools of brass-founders and workers in gold and ivory had carried on their crafts in Argos, in Sparta and elsewhere. Now, Athens led to the complete development of facility and mastership in such arts.

The city also attracted painters who com-

panioned sculptors in interpreting race life. To glorify the works of her democracy she called Polygnotus, in 462, from Delphi, where he had painted the walls of a hall illustrating large scenes from Homer, such for instance as the descent of Odysseus into Hades. In Athens, and agreeably to current veneration, he and his fellow-workers pictured the battle of Marathon within a compartment of the public portico callèd the Pœcile Stoa, a cloistered walk adorned besides with paintings such as scenes from the fall of Troy, and with statues, a haunt, in that sociable out-door life, of philosophers, nimble-witted rhetoricians and loungers eager for discussion, eager, too, for the last and best thing said.

In vases of the Hellenes, thousands of which remain to us to-day, and in the commonest utensils for the household, we have the Greek sense of form, in simple, dignified painting recalling, with ever-present, ever-significant motive, some god or hero.

THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR: ITS RESULTS

Mutations in the progression of the Greek spirit were of unexampled rapidity. Horror

at the threatened defeat of their spirit by Persia originally united the Hellenes, and bore out the law that peoples capable of hearty consolidation emerge to power and dominion. The ultrarational clinging to race feeling, that spirit of loyalty to race instinct which had started back in those centuries when personality had not become isolated and the individual felt and thought through the group, that profound social sentiment transcending local patriotism which subordinates all self-interest to the progress of the whole, led these Greeks to unite in their individualism.

The dualism we have spoken of in foregoing pages—Athens at the head of maritime powers, Sparta leading the Peloponnesian confederacy welded into one against Persia—had elements of friendliness. But when the conqueror was conquered, when fear of extinction by Asian inroad had died out, civil dissension followed. That persistent germ of disunion, the inability to unite except when threatened with extinction, a Greek characteristic due in part to the geography of small island and tiny valley, was now multiform. “Hellas is one,”

said a Greek poet, "but its city-states many."

"Fifty years passed between the retreat of Xerxes and the beginning of the war," testifies the eye-witness Thucydides, who called the Peloponnesian conflict the greatest event that had happened within the memory of man. Jealousy, fear of the power of democratic Athens, continues Thucydides, seeing most of Hellas already subject to her, impelled to the hostilities. The Spartans felt that the Athenians were growing too strong to be ignored. Their determination to curb the strength of their compeer was not long looking for an excuse. They found it in a disturbance of the balance of power.

"War is great folly," Pericles told the Athenians, "for those who are in prosperity and free to choose. But if they must either yield straightway to their neighbor, or venture and win, then he who shuns the danger is more blameworthy than he who stands his ground." The Athenians stood their ground, and intertribal feuds stained Greek lands. "Civil war is as much worse than a foreign war," wrote Herodotus, himself far from the conflict, "as war itself is worse than peace."

War prevailed, and when Attic soil-dwellers, driven by their enemies' invasion, crowded the city for protection, a material plague clasped hands with spiritual defeat. Pericles, the man of supreme character, died. Corrupt leaders succeeded him. Years passed and war went on. The Athenians, distraught, restlessly endeavoring after relief through constitutional changes and political experiment, were coming to attach themselves to men—men looking to personal advantage—more than to principles.

Even in the face of freedom in Athens social inequality had persisted. Democratic institutions had not effaced sentiment attached to families in the line of old popular heroes, for instance that of Alcibiades of the family of Ajax—never wholly discredited sentiment toward the old, supporting, influential life of inheritance and its wealth accumulating under the traditions of an acquisitive, conservative stewardship. Anti-popular combination and conspiracy had dwelt underworld throughout the democratic life of Athens, and now through breaking of hopes and through corruption gained ascendancy.

“The whole Hellenic world was in commotion,” says Thucydides in his history; “in every city the chiefs of the democracy and of the oligarchy were struggling, the one to bring in the Athenians, the other the Lacedæmonians. Now in time of peace, men would have had no excuse for introducing either, and no desire to do so; but, when they were at war, the introduction of a foreign alliance on one side or the other to the hurt of their enemies and the advantage of themselves was easily effected by the dissatisfied party. And revolution brought upon the cities of Hellas many terrible calamities, such as have been and always will be while human nature remains the same, but which are more or less aggravated and differ in character with every new combination of circumstances. In peace and prosperity both states and individuals are actuated by higher motives, because they do not fall under the dominion of imperious necessities; but war, which takes away the comfortable provision of daily life, is a hard master and tends to assimilate men’s characters to their conditions.

“When troubles had once begun in the

cities, those who followed carried the revolutionary spirit further and further, and determined to outdo the report of all who had preceded them by the ingenuity of their enterprises and the atrocity of their revenges. The meaning of words had no longer the same relation to things, but was changed by them as they thought proper. Reckless daring was held to be loyal courage; prudent delay was the excuse of a coward; moderation was the disguise of unmanly weakness; to know everything was to do nothing. Frantic energy was the true quality of a man. . . . The lover of violence was always trusted, and his opponent suspected. He who succeeded in a plot was deemed knowing, but a still greater master in craft was he who detected one. On the other hand, he who plotted from the first to have nothing to do with plots was a breaker up of parties and a poltroon who was afraid of the enemy. . . . The tie of party was stronger than the tie of blood, because a partisan was more ready to dare without asking why. (For party associations are not based upon any established law, nor do they seek the public good; they are formed in defiance of

the laws and from self-interest.) The seal of good-faith was not divine law, but fellowship in crime. . . .

“The cause of all these evils was the love of power, originating in avarice and ambition, and the party-spirit which is engendered by them when men are fairly embarked in a contest. For the leaders on either side used specious names, the one party professing to uphold the constitutional equality of the many, the other the wisdom of an aristocracy, while they made the public interests, to which in name they were devoted, in reality their prize. Striving in every way to overcome each other, they committed the most monstrous crimes. . . . Either by the help of an unrighteous sentence, or grasping power with the strong hand, they were eager to satiate the impatience of party-spirit. Neither faction cared for religion, but any fair pretence which succeeded in effecting some odious purpose was greatly lauded. And the citizens who were of neither party fell a prey to both; either they were disliked because they held aloof, or men were jealous of their surviving. . . .

“The simplicity which is so large an ele-

ment in a noble nature was laughed to scorn and disappeared. An attitude of perfidious antagonism everywhere prevailed. . . . Each man was strong only in the conviction that nothing was secure; he must look to his own safety, and could not afford to trust others. Inferior intellects generally succeeded best. For, aware of their own deficiencies, and fearing the capacity of their opponents, for whom they were no match in powers of speech, and whose subtle wits were likely to anticipate them in contriving evil, they struck boldly and at once."⁷

In the war each contestant over-estimated chance of success when success befell his state. Each lost measure between means and ends. Headlong desire for reprisal drove each destructively. After Athens met terrible reverses in Sicily, reverses so red-dened with excesses that like the massacre of St. Bartholomew, like the religious persecutions of the Thirty Years' War in Germany, they have become one of the horrors of history, insinuating suggestions from Susa en-

⁷ The passage is quoted from Jowett's translation of Thucydides by permission of the Delegates of the Oxford University Press.

deavored, by detaching Greek towns from their support, to break the Athenian empire. "In the civil wars Persian intrigue was busy," says Thucydides. Intrigue won, and Spartans allied themselves with Persia to carry joint war against Athens and her allies.

✓ Athenian heroism persisted in endeavor to retain some fragment of her empire. This forlorn hope failed, and at last every city in alliance with, or dependent upon Athens submitted to the supremacy of Sparta. Yet not Sparta, but rather union of Sparta with Persia had destroyed the political leadership of Athens, and borne out another law;—that races too little sympathetic to form powerful unions fall to subservience—the very opposite of that law exemplified when the Hellenes ninety years before united against Persia.

The repose of exhaustion followed the Peloponnesian war. Whether the city of Athens was to dominate all Hellas in a Greek empire which had formed for her on the rise of the Athenian navy, or whether she were to be a mere republic of rank kindred to other Hellenic states had been tried out. An assertion of Herodotus, who died in the sixth year

of the war, suggests reflection upon its progress and result. The Athenians, says the old historian, were of Pelasgic origin, that is, they were predominantly of the early, industrious, art-loving, peace-loving peoples; the Lacedæmonians, Doric, that is northern, war and dominion-loving.

IMPERISHABLE HISTORIES OF HERODOTUS
AND THUCYDIDES

But before and during these eventful decades, in this capital

“Athens, the eye of Greece, mother of arts,
And eloquence, native to famous wits,”

inspiration to flower and fructify stopped neither in architecture and its supporting arts, nor in its imperial democracy. Need of the records of its mighty deeds rested on the human spirit—record of all the stirring and curious world before men’s eyes—to amaze and edify future generations. These Hellenes had the sense of race vocation, trusteeship, we have seen. Their gifts were not for themselves alone. They felt themselves charged with legacies to

future generations. A Homer must appear, a first real seer of Hellenic history. The genius at hand was Herodotus, born in Asian Halicarnassus in 484 before Christ, himself an amalgam—of Dorian blood, he expressed the facile Ionian spirit. In his writing Greek prose literature became fairly developed.

Oracular legends of an ancient enmity between the Hellenes and Asiatic peoples had long been current, we have seen. Homer had told it in his battle of the Achæans with the Asiatics. Tales of the actual present antagonism and contest between these peoples had filled minds of at least two generations of Hellenes before Herodotus saw the light. Nothing could be more natural than for him to take the profaning war of Persian invasion for his subject, the conflict between the social will of Hellas and its challenging race, and interpret it with the religious imaginativeness that characterized his times, making his groundwork an explication of the way of God to man.

He wrote, he said, “to save from decay the remembrance of what men have done, and to prevent the mighty and marvelous actions of the Greeks and barbarians failing of their

meed of glory." He made an organic epic. A divine forethought, an envy of the gods, a mighty moral order, the finger of deity in all human affairs, the will of social progress, allots ruin even to the third and fourth generation to the immoderateness of men, to their excess, arrogance and crime. That is the idea underlying the history of Herodotus. It colors the narrative, and the speeches which are lyric outbursts. The historian was saturated with the faith in human affairs of an ever-present retributive justice, Nemesis, which begetting in the godhead jealousy and enmity that man should aspire to power and nurse overwhelming ambition, humiliates human pride: upon all men of foremost condition disaster must come. A poet filled with a religious enthusiasm, he set out in his work action of the law of righteousness. Just as to the Jews in the Old Testament, so to this Greek historian, his race's history was the tribunal of the justice of God.

The narrative of this ethnic story of Herodotus, its candor and simplicity and persuasion, its pathos, its human quality and the garrulous delight of its telling, fitted it for such recitation as epic lays enjoyed at festi-

vals. Accounts say that the author gave a public reading and had pay therefor at the great pan-Athenæa of 446 before Christ.

This detailed, dramatic recounting of the father of history sprang from the peace and fertility of the Hellenic spirit at the end of the Persian wars, and reflected conditions that inspired the early singers. Thucydides, born but thirteen years after Herodotus, also wrote a drama of which he was a painstaking, accurate, trustworthy eye-witness and doer-of deeds,—one may say *drama* because the form of the history of Thucydides shows permeation of the tragic spirit. His psychology is that of the drama, and his construction somewhat resembles the drama of Æschylus. In this story the parties are warring states and the end sought the leadership of Athens.

But Thucydides is austere. He loves no detailed description, no old-fashioned, legendary tales as did his elder brother-historian. He analyzes character with keen penetration—what motives impelled the actors in affairs, what social forces produced the results. “Those who wish,” he said, “to see clearly what has happened and what like events may hereafter happen, in the order of human af-

fairs, will find what I have written useful aids." His compact thought, his love of truth and dispassionate effort to justify the opposing parties as they would, and even then did, justify themselves, his distinct, precise, significant diction, his long vision, his close-knit reasoning with its quality of lasting validity, mark him as the first writer of vigorous, philosophical history, and one who vivified and enriched the writing of history for all time.

How the Greeks of their day saw the worth of life, their interpreting of life with ethical meaning, what to their religious sense was the divine will, the histories of Herodotus and Thucydides in one way show. But with Thucydides expression of religious emotion is translated into philosophic phrase. The inexplicable element in history he calls *chance*, *tyche*, τύχη.

RISE OF THE DRAMA: SUCH MASTERS AS
ÆSCHYLUS, SOPHOCLES, EURIPIDES,
ARISTOPHANES

Through poetry, however, the Hellenic genius must again find expression fitted to its time. That welling of the spirit for ut-

terance of the laws of human life, that cerebral excitement that heats and molds ideas about it to the emotional pitch of rhythm, must again be a faithful voice of the age. Poetry has always thriven in great crises of history. That is, a literature can ground itself only on the ethos, the faith and ethical concepts of a people. Its roots must be in their life. The sap that feeds it and gives it expansive strength and detailed beauty must come from the religious and ethical ardor of its people.

A literature interpretative of race-consciousness we have seen the virid growth of since Homer. Of what the Greek muse earliest sang, when, in the full noontide of Homer's epic day, minstrel and rhapsodist journeyed through Ionian state and island, we have caught echoes in the great objective epos. The day's twilight brought the master's perfect song. Then, we know, a darkness of shifting shapes settled over Hellas till the lyric, a product many-tongued, born centuries before but slowly maturing, difficult to measure because its miniature qualities ever helped to its loss, but as complete and genuine a racenote as the epic, came

in with the new dawn. Voices of the Lesbian and other singers sounded throughout the Hellenic world stirring anew with art. We have seen in the autonomous feeling leaping to life out of groups of monarchic mold, that in subjective expression the elegy evolved, the iambus, the lyric of single thought and feeling, and even the song of blended sentiment of the Dorian chorus.

We have seen in the years following the Persian wars that race and religious ardor of the Hellenes had intensive stimulation. Now great events had spiritualized the old faiths in divine power, the practices of the people reinvigorated belief in its providence towards the race. Then again, before the delight of the people at the repulsion of Asia had declined, the inclusion at the beginning of Pericles' persuasive career of Athenians in the jury systems had told upon Athenian character profoundly. The law history testifies to among other peoples, that a broadening of suffrage rights brings a deepening of the religious sense to those enfranchised, had proved itself in Hellas.

Every generation craves sensitive reflectors to mirror its own peculiar spirit.

The spiritual life of every generation, we say, must sink into decadence unless it renews itself in intimate union with cosmic consciousness and creates afresh expression of its life. When preëminence and political liberty had come to Athens, the Hellenes stamped their genius upon another racial form. Architecture we have seen combining the two spiritual phases of the Hellene, the southern and northern, blending the two to form a third. This synthesis of mind fired also the creative impulse of literary art. The serene, joyous impulse of the Ionian Greeks, the spirit that had luxuriated in recounting the epic, in the setting forth the philosopher and physicist and historian, and had penetrated the recesses of the human heart in elegiac and iambic poetry—Ionic grace and mobility, now in unity with the stern, ethic god-call and abiding sense of god-presence of the Doric chorus, was giving the world Greek drama. To perfect the evolution had needed many generations. Greek tragedy “advanced by slow degrees,” said Aristotle long after. In this age of Athens it took perfect form. Man in the energy of free action calls for action represented.

Winter and springtime, then as now, were seasons of many worshipful festivals—festivals in many instances connected with oblations and rites to Earth for bountiful fruits, and to Sun, maker of seasons. They refer back to primitive peoples, and in many instances, as in Greece, were connected with the invoking, stimulating, strengthening of the spirit of fertility.

From about the 19th to the 21st of our December, song and dance, probably pantomime and buffoonery, and also improvised plays by wandering players added zest to country sports in Attica. These distinguished the Country Dionysia. Merry-makings of the feast, somewhat like the materiality with which we every year celebrate our Christmas, may have distorted the initial object of the celebration, which was, as we said, to give magic potency to the exuberant forces of nature then buried, to stimulate growth, to strengthen by wanton excess the god of vegetation whose powers were in that season suspended. Tumultuous processions of mummers noisily singing, inebriately dancing, bearing a symbol of the quickening force of nature, called for the god of life. Then the

new wine was first tasted, and sustenance in cakes and fruit offered.

To awaken or to strengthen the sleeping god, mænads sought still further in the lesser feast of the Lenæa, during the last days of our January, when, according to an old scholiast, a bearer of a flaming torch held the brand aloft and cried to the assembled people, "Invoke the god"; and all those present shouted "Iacchus, son of Semele, thou giver of wealth!"

About the first of our March, at the Anthesteria, the feast that causes things to bloom, when the wine of the last year was ready to drink, each household opened its casks, religiously made libations to the god, and decked their rooms with early spring flowers. Again was the feast of the bringing up of creative impulse and growth. Earth, source and mother of all, held below its surface during four months of winter a latent, slumbering divinity, to whom rain-clouds were sacred, and fertilizing rain and dew. The people must resurrect and stimulate the god that he may pour life into the soil "in the holy season of spring."⁸

⁸ Peoples not Greek celebrated similar processes of

The folk massed at a temple in solemn and secret services. In other ways emotion socialized itself. Choruses competed honoring the merry young god in song and dance. The whole folk reveled and masqueraded, parading after a statue of the god, as mythical followers of Dionysus, as Bacchæ, as nymphs, and finally retired for banquets. Barren winter was dead and teeming life abroad in the land.

This rebirth festival, this joy at the renewal of life, was also one of revocation of souls, when in the upward motion of the tide of life spirits of the dead significantly rose and went about. Their households set out pots of food and feasted the souls and poured on tombs libations of placation. And because it was also a feast of purification they

nature—for instance, believing the god of fertility slept in winter, the Lydians, when the sun brought back the spring, danced with enthusiasm; and tribes in the north of Europe held the feast of Ostara (Easter), the Anglo-Saxon goddess of springing, fertilizing time. To our day Christians of the Greek Church in Thrace observe fertility rites in their Lenten carnival—men of a village masquerading in goatskins, and finally, after various doings symbolic, putting on a yoke and praying for a good harvest as they drag the plow.

put pitch on their doors and practiced other rites of aversion of malign influences. At this Anthesteria fell the ceremony of the mystic marriage of Dionysus with the wife of the king archon, a symbolic union of the refreshment of the blood of the people and the life of the soil, and thus reverently esteemed an assistance to the growth of crops.

About the first of our April, in the Greater Dionysia, the people celebrated the prevalence of summer, and their joy that Dionysus had wholly delivered his folk from decay of vegetation and the needs and cares of winter. Again the earth was putting forth her yield, and with the impelling aid of the god of life should bear fruitful harvest.

The idealizing ritual of Dionysus, the great vegetative god, had, we have seen, become in sentiment and ideas the property of the state, and had gradually superimposed itself upon the rites of the Olympian gods, especially upon the worship of the season-god Apollo, and also of the pre-Greek liturgy of Mother Earth. It had crystallized after its own nature the worship of the spirit of fertility in other cults. Here again is evident that impelling genius of the Hellenes to put in poetic

and plastic form their spiritual life's intimacies and unities with the world, with the barrenness of winter, the jocund spring, the fruition of summer and gifts of the fall of the year.

In Dorian cities so far back as in the time of Alcman, we have seen that singers taught by a chorus master and dancers trained to military precision offered, in behalf of the people, thanks to the gods by chanting and dancing poems. So malleable, so pliable a form was the Dorian choral, whether it were a joyous pæan to the sun-god Apollo, or a dithyrambic ode of enthusiasm to Dionysus, that the song and its expressive dance might run from gladness and gayety to grave solemnity. In a member of the chorus impersonating the god, or telling his perils, and the chorus expressing the sympathies of a pious mind with the sorrows of Dionysus, tragedy may have had its birth. Exactly how we know not, perhaps in a dithyrambic song of spring when a cyclic chorus dressed as satyrs sang and danced goat-songs to the god of generation. Or tragedy may have grown as is lately claimed, from the Dorian usage of honoring heroes with solemn hymns

sung round their graves, all referring back to a primitive worship of the dead. Whatever its origin, it was unmistakably religious and embodied racial consciousness.⁹ So to unite the lyric action of the Doric chorus with the Ionic recitative, with the dramatic dialogue of the wandering rhapsode, and to bring forth tragedy complete, fell to the inspiration of these times. The seizure of the Hellenes' spirit with the content and form of tragedy became so intense that its evolution affected forms of literary composition outside poetry. It directed the historians, as we have seen. It impelled even oratory when the speech-writer prepared his client's address to the court, and persisted even to the time when Plato cast his speculations in dramatic dialogue.

This stirring and striving age of Hellas brought the drama to perfection, we say, and gave dramatic writers a dignity never paralleled before or since. The Hellenes were now

⁹ Turning from the Greek a moment, it is curious to note that the East Indian drama had its origin in the blending of epic and lyric forms, and in religious emotion, and the Chinese in the union of the arts of dancing and singing.

producing an exalted poetry alive with an ethico-philosophic religion, a mental and emotional education never possessed by any other people. In Athens great tragedies appealed so thoroughly to the heart of the mass, and were so popular a religious service that, since the gods delight in the joy of their folk to see and hear worshipful functions, an obol from the public funds was finally made ready for each citizen to buy an entrance ticket. A public capable of appreciating and delighting in the perfection of such plays does not now exist, and never has existed except in the Athens of the age of their production. Spectacles of unendurable misfortune in the lives of race heroes effected, in Hellenic estimation, what Aristotle called *catharsis*, an emotional purification,—and made the citizen content to bear his easier mishaps and esteem his narrower life felicitous. Through all its growth and ripening the tragic play never lost its identification with the Hellenes' idea of deity, and their faith in the essential unity of mankind.

A man who witnessed the fateful crises of the battles of Marathon and Salamis, and that a man of profound insight, who had seen

his race breaking the omnipotence of the ruler of rulers, humbling the world-compelling army of the great king to the dust—such a man would feel in human affairs the vengeance that pursues crime, and his work would reflect nemesis—the Nemesis Herodotus set forth. Æschylus embodied qualities of this generation of the Athenians, their consciousness of right, of honor and the public virtue that was the foundation, after the Persian wars, of Athens' glory. Whatever of his mighty plays are preserved to us are vivid with vast, enlarging and ennobling emotion. They declare the boldness of soul nurtured by great thoughts. They have the old severity of devotion to law that Solon taught, and regard for race habits and breeding, a Dorian, deeply brooding conception of life.

Uniting with the purified spirit of the times they spiritualized the old religion of Zeus and gross myths. Dramatic and majestic forms, types, abstractions, traditional ideals possessing the imagination, gleaming in the half-light of an elder world, express in superhuman language wonder, exalted resignation and faith in the immanence and direction in

human life of supreme wisdom and power. They partake of the character of the sculpture—the stable, universal, traditional ideals spoken of on foregoing page 237. They embody the primal note of tragedy—mutability and reversal of fortune, fate, inscrutable power striking at titan and man, at pride, at well-calculated plans and bringing all to dust—he who pursues power wars with the unconquerable which masters all humans alike.

In the “Prometheus,” a drama which takes up with the loftiness of ancient Hebrew thought, and intensity of emotion of the old Hebrew lyric, the condition and relation of the human race, Prometheus helps on the mind of man aspiring with ardor to higher planes, seeking to gain such perfect knowledge and art as the immortals have set aside for themselves. This is defiance of Zeus, a Divine Will and harsh, avenging god of justice, and the titan, hero-savior, who “loved mortals overmuch,” himself perishes amid rolling thunder and the lightnings which the high god hurls. The sinner’s own presumption in over-stepping moral order, and his excess fling him to ruin.

"The blow that fells the sinner is of God,
And as he wills, the rod
Of vengeance smiteth sore."

Like every other Greek tragedy of these years, the "Prometheus" action is inner, spiritual, effecting the catharsis of Aristotle. It makes way for an elevating and assuaging tranquillity. It demands man's faith, awe and devotion in a divine government and its righteousness. Profound ideas inform such plays. Truth, loftiness and sublimity inhere in them in simple strength and never degenerate.

Still Sophocles, in fact, centers the poetic consciousness of this age. Born thirty years after Æschylus and therefore maturing outside those national woes the heart of Æschylus knew, Sophocles most completely stamped his work with that quality of the Hellenes called harmony, wise moderation, composure and noble resignation. His plays have about them the serenity and balance of the Parthenon which grew to its perfection before his eyes.

The vague, shadowy titans of Æschylus give way in Sophocles' poems to Hellenic perspicuity; the characters, less godlike,

are more human and of Greek precision of form. In their ethical ideas, in their conception of a supreme sustainer of the moral law and order, in setting out the favorite Greek theory of the human in relation to the divine—instability of good fortune and the limitation to the will of man; but greater still in the message of the unfathomable meaning of human life, his plays are of surpassing splendor. Their Greek atmosphere persists with amazing potency. To-day we sit amazed at their penetrating simplicity, at their enlightened piety and the ideal nobility of their characters. We seem to see, as another has said, and to have present in living motion before us, the souls of those Athenians sculptured by Pheidias round the frieze of the Parthenon. Like the sculptor, the poet declared he “made humans as they should be.” Sophocles was a master in the analysis of the great elemental emotions of men, in the working of passion and power in the spirit of man. He “saw life steadily and saw it whole.”

His inimitable art developed at a period when masses of Athenians especially, in shaded portico and theater, in jury court and

the great public assembly, were reflecting and speculating and completing mastery of their thoughts and their fluid, subtle speech.

From this broad, massive understanding of and sympathy with human life grew the poet's keen and exquisite power of words and his flowing narrative and choral song. The universal interest in the human everywhere rife in the time of Sophocles, is doubtless the source of the grace and sweetness, the sterling gentleness that distinguish his plays. His art was supremely Greek in presenting the lasting, the divine characteristics of the human being—which should not be marred or distorted by lawlessness or suffering. In religious lore he picked the spiritual and left the grosser. His piety was peculiarly apt in presenting the universal significance that lay under the outward form of the popular religion. "In things that touch upon the gods," he said, "it is best to shun unholy pride." "Nothing is base to which the gods lead us." In the emotional, creative power of genius and the intellectual, critical faculties, Sophocles stood midway between the fellow-citizens of Æschylus whose beacon was a

race-embedded morality and the lighter age that applauded Euripides.

Sophocles, said Aristotle, represents men as they ought to be; Euripides men as they are. The noble beauty of Sophocles' heroes and the Hellenic simplicity, harmony and delicate adjustment to end of the poet's work changes in the drama of the third great tragic poet of Hellas, born when Æschylus was forty-five and Sophocles fifteen. Race myth is still the poet's subject, but his heroes are particularized into unique individuals, and the atmosphere is saturated with man's waywardness and the discord and confusion of human life. This means a dying-out of the ideal of tragedy.

Euripides, most speculative poet and prophet of free thought, is repelled by popular forms in portraying the Hellenes' divinities. To this critical attitude of mind he gives varied expression. "These legends of spousals and god lording it over another god are the minstrels' sorry tales," he sings. And again, "If the gods do anything base, they are not gods." Yet a profound religious feeling he expressed in this prayer of Hecuba's:

"O prop of earth, thou who hast thy seat upon the earth,
Whoever thou mayst be, Zeus, past finding out—whether
law of nature or mind of man,
To thee I pray; for through noiseless path dost thou
with justice lead mortal things."

And in another form he cries to the world-pervading mind: "Thee, self-begotten, who in the whirl of the heavens dost interweave the nature of all things, about whom is light, round whom dusky, spangled-bodied night and unnumbered hosts of stars continually do dance!"

The poet no longer held one transported to another world, however. Abiding in this he turned to humanity for his ideals, and with liquid and flexible periods, and the poetizing of every-day speech, he would present the naked thought and action of humans. Loquacity and temper for argument that settled on the Athenians especially during the second half of the Peloponnesian war, one outcome of the sophist, Euripides doubtless mirrors in his plays. But they also have another associate of those years—a democratic sympathy with subjects of evil economic conditions, the poor and oppressed, and every-

where and always the Athenian clarity of intellect. Euripides' tragedies were a component part of the age of rhetoric and dialectics now developing, and its mordant questionings at large through the people concerning the old religion and individual and social rights.

Thus building their tragedy Æschylus, Sophocles and Euripides became organs of the Greek consciousness. In the dramatic competitions at the two great festivals of Dionysus every year, other poets contested whose works we do not know, and often those to us unknown gained the prize, aided possibly by a better training and equipment of the chorus, over masters we esteem unrivaled. According to "The Frogs" of Aristophanes popular taste for tragic poetry was so great that "striplings composed more than ten thousand tragedies and chattered more by a stadium than Euripides. . . . paltry little grapes, praters, twittering places of sparrows, disgracers of art."

Greatness of mind that acts in unity with ultimate law and beauty tragedy sets out. To make the noble more notable art introduces the mind that perverts order and acts

out its own humor, or folly, or deformity, or shallowness, or abnormal view of life.

In its essence comedy is the child of democracy, the equality of men who flay one another in jovial merriment. It could not be a product of the court of tyrannus or noble, the very life of which is preserved by security of freedom from ridicule and jest. The grounding of its spirit must be a later perfection than tragedy.

Greek comedy belongs to a country life where acquaintance was sure and equality unsuspended. A rumor gives its origin to the Dorians—because that folk were possessed of a rude, individual joviality. Amid such it may have evolved, from the license of a harvest feast, some festival of the vintage god when revelers indulged in ribald witticism and gross ridicule of persons and conditions. Swift after the end of a chorus to Bacchus, that exuberant god who himself reveling in mocking gibe had vouchsafed the choric company song and dance, the folk may have taken for granted the plain-spoken, unrestrained joke. The joke's near kin, ludicrous imitation and mock dignity, would soon be knocking for entrance as master of the revels.

However, since writers of comedy should possess a vantage of deep conception and real refinement, and also penetrating vision into the abnormalities and basenesses and follies of men, the holder of the mocking masque might have a bitter seriousness.

Even when the comic muse of Hellas had come to full brilliance in Athens, much of its original spirit abode, and arbitrary quizzing of the individual still went on. But Attic comedy did not confine its activities to reality and probability and their laws. Imagination of soaring height distinguished it, indulged in political as well as trenchant personal satire, and personified whatever it pleased and how it pleased.

Aristophanes, chiefest of Athenian comedy writers, a poet of rich and felicitous phrase, a consummate artist, a conservative antipathetic to new ideas, hating Socrates' ceaseless test and scrutiny, a violent factionary against the Athenian democracy and its changeful temper, attacked in airy, high-wrought fantasies contentions of his age, placing them for instance in "Cloud-cuckoo-town," and with poignant, grotesque ridicule the more popular and conspicuous men, even

Socrates and his "thinking-shop," and also the gods and the women of Athens. His plays gained an undoubted chief end—they entertained and amused coteries of young men of Athens.

If an ideal of the comic muse may be an all-in-all drunken distortion of real life, then the juggling and license of Aristophanes are peaks of perfection.

The political equality of Athens and the ragged, hungry, poor, landless, unemployed because of the competition of slave labor, citizens to whom the equality permitted hope of food and life, are his especial butt. Fraud, in a democracy open to the light of day, uniting with ignorant pretense fought for political control. Aristophanes bitterly condemned the freedom and equality that gave men chance for good as well as for ill.

In the stress of events comedy was impotent. Ridicule of rulers, bitter and libelous attacks, scornful laughter, became not so palatable to the people. The ending of the Peloponnesian war in the reduction of Athens broke the energy of public life and damped the ardor of the comic muse.

COMING OF THE SOPHISTS AND THE NEW
EDUCATION

Through the centuries marked by a burgeoning individualism we have seen the speculative mind of Greece employed mainly in the order of nature, and looking to man as a part of nature. That mind was still youthful. From the inefficacies and conflicts of the philosophers' conclusions, from hasty generalizations, doubt arose among men as to the righteousness of probing the universe's secret. They pronounced in broadspread murmurs the old physico-metaphysical inquiries impious, knowledge the gods reserved for themselves.

A new field was, however, opening. Already for hundreds of years the Hellenes had peered into the conduct of life and had made for its government naïve, elemental rules. The early gnomic poets afforded such laws in especial form. Precepts of theirs and proverbs we have seen long settled into a part of the education of Greek youth. Moral conceptions of the early philosophers had also become a part of the possessions of the race. Evolution in ethical thought, the

elevating of the social mind and will, goes slowly.

But emotions of an individualizing age, poetically feeling and affirming of physical appearances and of human rights, were now giving way to a virile capacity, to inductive, analytic discourse, to profounder thinking, weighing, judging, to effort at logical classification. The impulses of the time in the poetry of the time, the Athenian drama, witness the Greek mind engaged in major problems of human existence and the inhering and ever-present democratic sentiment—in the relations of the individual as a member of an organized society.

These subjects not only poets and historians treated—assemblies, gymnasia, theaters, public walks, were alive with discussions of human conduct; what was honorable; what justice; what piety; what base; what expedient; what not; all growths rooted in anterior centuries, now nurtured by democracy and fertilized by the sophists and other discussers of civic relations. With unprecedented development of the genius of social order went evolution in reason and reflection, and presented a new conception of

the science of human conduct—the old education, old sanctions for conduct, having lost force.

At Athens the progressive, speculative spirit had attracted men of new, radical ideas. Hand in hand with the city's outblossoming in art and literature, within a few years after the battle of Salamis, a class of men not before known flourished within her public places, itinerant teachers, private professors, "sophists" they called themselves, who undertook to teach by facile theory, not by slow, hard-bought practice as heretofore, wisdom and virtue. In other cities than Athens, gathering youth about them, they spoke in public street and portico, and also at the Olympic and other national festivals. In their very origin and progress race feeling and race pride abounded. They were a by-product of the spirit of their age, upon which in turn they acted largely.

Just as minstrels had recited in public place the old epic lays, so now sophists clad in purple delivered, for a good round price, speeches often polished with consummate art. They instructed and swayed the understanding of the crowds by their persuasive

dialectical conversation.¹⁰ In Athens their appeal and influence was often among a newly emancipated populace inclined to treat with contempt the difficult, ethically ruled education of the past. Magnificent promises and flattery to those who paid high fees, pretensions to pass upon all institutions and all peoples, marked the ministrations of the more superficial of their number. They sensed their countrymen's pace and their teachings accelerated it. They foreran the popular and forensic oratory and the grammarians' science.

The old, conservative ideal of education, god-fearing, law-abiding, national, a puritanic circumscribing self to every faculty's performance of its function, exalting duty to the state and its religion, socialistic in quality, aristocratic in practice, tending if carried to furthest logic to recede from pliability,—this old ideal in education was now

¹⁰ These itinerant dialecticians, it is interesting to note, theologues have claimed to be direct ancestors in method of those early church fathers and doctors who went about announcing their evangel and using dialectic for conversion. They were therefore prototype of the sermonizer of to-day.

giving way to a new form, liberal, individualistic in quality, forgetful of the potency of righteousness and moral discipline, departing from vigorous, systematic exercise, freely expending and enjoying self in luxuries, teaching no real thing existed, contemptuously lessening the influence of old-fashioned principles and of law, discrediting religious reverence and the gods of the people and bringing forward a showy reasoning, a flippant, shallow cleverness and a puffball acuteness. According to new standards the old ideal did not produce free and cultivated men. And these standards witness that the health, unity and glory of their country were coming to be no longer the chief wish of its citizens. Aristophanes, in the year 423, humorously and vigorously set the old education against the new in his comedy "The Clouds"—in part as follows:—

"Let me tell of the old-fashioned education," said Right Discourse, "as it prevailed when I was flourishing and self-control was respected. In the first place a child was not allowed to grumble. At that time, in orderly fashion, together, through the streets, all the boys of the ward had to march, scantily

dressed too, even if the snow did come down like barley groats, to the master of music. Then they learned to rehearse a song without compressing their sides—either ‘Pallas, great stormer of cities,’ or ‘Afar a shout resounding,’ putting vim into the melody their fathers had handed down. If any one of them played the buffoon, or tried any sudden changes such as these now-a-days difficult trills of Phrynis, he got a beating for having discredited the Muses. . . . Nor at dinner was it permitted youth to take the head of the radish, nor to snatch anise and parsley from their elders, nor to live on fish and thrushes, nor to sit with legs crossed. . . . Take courage, youngster, and choose me as the Better Discourse, and you shall learn to hate the market-place, and keep away from the bath-houses and be ashamed of shameful deeds, and blaze up if anyone jeers at you, and rise from your seat when your elders approach, and never do any rudeness to your parents, or any shameful thing whatever which shall mar the image of Modest Reverence. . . . Then healthy and blooming you will spend your time in the gymnasia, not chattering in

the market-place, dealing in coarse jokes like the young men of this day."

The ferment of spirit which had given free political institutions in Athens had of necessity, we have said, produced instruction for fitting electors to perform citizens' duties. An eloquence, sonorous and melodic effect, the value of the persuasive word, the salient phrase, had been dear to the Greek heart since Homer sang of Achilles trained to be "a speaker of words and a doer of deeds." It had now come to have highest significance—Euripides voiced the Greek feeling, "Persuasion save in speech hath no temple"—for to an elector of a democracy it held within its possibilities mastership in politics. This wish the sophists of the fifth century met and embodied in their instructions.

Man, it is clear, was the root of the Athenian philosophy—the reality of human relations, human duties, the action of men towards one another and as units in the state. Protagoras of Abdera, a most eminent sophist, had said "man is the measure of all things"; that is, the fruit of philosophy is the good of the individual. Attention was to

become reflex and lead to self-understanding. Socrates turned this into the seeking of human well-being founded upon general laws. "Learn to know thyself"—what thou art and what thy abilities for human use; to study man apart from the physical world referring in the main to man's relations to his fellows.

The age of the profoundest of sophists, Socrates, was now come, the first age to conceive of an ethical science distinct and apart, its end the art of righteousness and social living. Those who knew these matters Socrates accounted good and honorable. Genuine knowledge, he thought, constrained to practice: the ignorant he assimilated to slaves. Real knowledge is thus a power, an impulsive principle, character. Virtue is wisdom; vice ignorance. No one errs of his own free will. "Every one wishes for his own good and would gain it if he could."

A testing, scrutinizing, refutative, negative force in speculation, unmasking the plausible, the pretentious, the one-sided, the false, had already shone forth in the Greek spirit. The philosopher Zeno had uttered it. This the dialectic ¹¹ process of Socrates now expanded,

¹¹ Dialectic, as has been said, was but the argumenta-

asking frankly in ignorance and doubt as to the appositeness of definitions from the current sophists, until the minds of his hearers fermented under his subtle irony and warm, sunny rationalism. He would enter upon men's souls, clear their understanding, and convince them that most of their stock definitions were fallacious, mere names, that lacking clearness of conception they conceitedly thought they had knowledge while in reality they had none.

The total self-reliance and independence of Socrates, his conviction of an apostolic mission from God, his intellectual power and stimulating originality, his critical, subtle and humane spirit, made him the colossus of all awakeners of dormant mentality. He was both magnetic prophet and cool rationalist. He sought to define men and things—ideas. He would, feeling the danger in Athens of the rule of ignorance and of those perverted by

tive, systematized conversation—a logomachy or “word-fight”—of a sharp-witted people, conducted with complaisance, with persuasion, under recognized rules. “Whithersoever the argument bears us, just as a wind drives the ship, there must we go,” said Socrates. The method was a ladder in the later Plato's hands for ascent towards truth,

false standards, make men good through the gymnastic of moral effort. He had toward knowledge the enthusiasm, and toward education the optimism, of the true democrat.

His aim to correct vicious tendencies and to strengthen mental infirmities by series of questions which brought out common opinions, impelled thought and led to wholes and principles of conduct. "He often made me feel," said Alcibiades according to Plato's report, "as if the life I am living I could not endure to live." Plato called him "the gad-fly" of the Athenians. "Of all men I have ever known," said the great idealist, "he was the wisest and justest and best." No illustration was too obvious or homely for his talk on practical conduct and for educing force within his listeners. With whomsoever he fell in, he was a fellow-enquirer.

Socrates' ministrations met the fate assigned those shocking contemporaries with new ideas—the death loftiest and indomitable altruism is apt to meet when it puts forth a claim against the old habit. At his trial he reviewed his career before the court. The counts against him were of corrupting the youth by his teachings and introducing false

gods—in obedience he confessed to an inner voice, a divine sign, that since childhood had commanded him. “To act thus was laid upon me by God, by prophecies, by dreams, and in every way by which divine will lays it upon man to act,” Plato reports him saying.¹² He had been called to teaching by the god at Delphi. His mission was sane and religious. “For I go about in order to persuade you both young and old, not to care for your bodies, nor for money, but especially for the soul—how it shall become the best possible; saying that virtue does not spring from

¹² Many Hellenes, and especially Socrates and Plato, foreran Christianity in teaching the individualism that places our best efforts upon our spiritual life and sets aside worldly estimate to approach more nearly a divine wisdom and worth. In Socrates’ prayer, for instance, given at the end of Plato’s “Phædrus”—

O Pan beloved, and other gods
Who now may be near me,
Grant that within—in inner life—
I beautiful may be;
Let outward things—whate’er I have
My inner life set free.
The wise alone may I deem rich;
And grant, O Pan, to me,
No more of gold than a moderate man
May use most easily.

possessions but possessions from virtue, and so also every other good among men both in private and in public life.¹³ "I should be a doer of guilty deeds, men of Athens, if . . . my post at which God stationed me to seek wisdom and examine myself and others, I should desert through fear of death, or anything whatever." "Now, therefore, men of Athens, I am far from pleading my own cause, as one might think, but I plead for your sake, lest in condemning me you sin in the matter of God's gift to you. For if you slay me, you will not easily find another such. . . . Persuaded by Anytus you may lightly put me to death; then pass the rest of your lives lying in sleep, if God does not, in love to you, send another evangelist."

Socrates was one of a class of men (like the Hebrew prophets) who give themselves to the moral reformation of mankind—moral reformation meaning a cleansing, a purify-

¹³ Centuries later Jesus, as reported by Matthew (vi, 33) was to say, "Seek ye first the kingdom of God and his righteousness, and all these things shall be added unto you." All through its centuries of illumination the Hellenic spirit was a prophet bespeaking its historic sequel, the ideas of Christianity—ideas which it in scattered parts enunciated and sent forth into the world,

ing. Such puritanism government, and especially democracy, has ever found necessary. He was, then, a puritan prophet of righteousness, whose conviction and earnestness, says another, brushed aside levitating, equivocating artificialities, whose lips preached and whose life practiced realities, who spoke in words of calm content and consolation when at the approach of death he turned eyes to another world, but found his chiefest joys in the bonds of human fellowship in this.

Onward from the time of Socrates ethics was a distinct branch of philosophy.

Socrates, driving earnestly for whole, universal principles, had, seeking what virtue is, fixed his thoughts on defining moral sanction—what is true. Before him had been Parmenides' doctrine of static calm, a birthless, deathless, formless, impalpable Being, One. Before him also the fertile mind of Heraclitus had, as we have seen, put forth the doctrine that all things in the world of sense are ever in "flux and there is no knowing about them."

Under the especial influences of these three minds, and also of the Spirit, pneuma,

πνεῦμα, of Xenophanes, Plato, Socrates' disciple, constructed what commentators have called his theory of universals, of ideas—that realities corresponding to the definitions are other than the objects given in sense, that realities are whole thoughts, things-in-themselves, splendid archetypes of the objects of sense, eternal and immutable entities, the same yesterday, to-day and forever. They are the objects of all real knowledge. Just as they lend themselves to the individual when he thinks, so they are the creators of our reason. Knowledge anterior to all experience had its source in this world of ideas.

Plato was born near the beginning of the Peloponnesian war and grew to manhood during its conflict. His theory is a knitting together by a sovereign intellect of the idealism, the old, unconscious and ineradicable tendency to poetry, and its sensuous apprehensions, of his race—an evolution of his inheritance—qualities which his fellow Hellenes had worked out in their religion, their civic polity and their art. Plato's abstract notions of Wisdom, Fortitude, Temperance, Justice, were another form the Greek mind took of poetically endowing every object with a soul,

a personality, of forming gods as it had formed them in its childhood before Homer's day.

His theory is also pervasively human, it has been remarked, inasmuch as it expresses a tendency of the human mind to bunch together qualities of similarity and refer them to a type or model. The universe of Ideas which the mystic Plato set forth became the Logos, the indwelling life and truth of Philo and of the Fourth Gospel.

A soul animates the world, and this world-soul is the only begotten, *μονογενής*, immanent. Supreme Deity is maker of the world-soul. After the same model deity fashioned the world-body. The cosmos or well-ordered universe, becomes thus an organism, "Divine Child."

In creating this world "God was good," says Plato, and "in one who is good there never is envy: so being far from envy he wished that all things become as like himself as possible." "He set the soul in the midst of the body . . . and set forth a sphere ¹⁴ re-

¹⁴ Because the sphere is the most perfect of forms, the universe, most perfect of existences, must be spherical.

volving in a sphere, by reason of its own virtue powerful over itself, and needing no other, but being sufficient to itself for acquaintance and friend."

The world-soul was the vice-gerent of the Creator, like the Logos of Heraclitus spoken of on foregoing page 148. The creator was the "Father," "Generator," the Highest God. "To discover the Maker and Father of the Whole is a task, and if once he were discovered, he could not be spoken to men." That is, All-Good and Primordial Principle is too remote from the common mind to be explained.

The created gods, receiving from their great demiurge the immortal part, fashioned man and the perishable part of his soul. In every human soul, said Plato, is a divine element of the Supreme God, "the eye of the soul." It is the highest and most divine part of man, a sovereign dæmon who "lifts us from earth to our kinship with heaven, since we are not of earth but of heaven by birth." Greatest honor is borne the soul by making it better, and love of truth, of all excellences of character, is first, and love of justice. Virtue in and for itself is the highest human

good. "Every soul of man, by its very nature, has seen the things that really are, otherwise it would not have come into this form of life. To rise from things here to the recollection of those is not easy for every soul." "Even in life that which makes each one of us to be what we are is the soul; and when we are dead, the deathless being of us, which is called the soul, goes on her way to other gods, that to them she may give account."

As in the old Orphic speculation, bodily desires are weights and hindrances to the imprisoned soul of man eager for release. Man's life is all a preparation for death. Of its future life with the gods the soul has had visions in the archetypes. There are two other places of the future world—Acheron, the place of impure souls and Tartarus, or Hell.

The beautiful is that which pertains to excellence of soul or body; the ugly that which pertains to defects and vices. This identifies æsthetics with ethics, and puts art as a sub-server to morality. Because of the susceptibility of humans to that about them—to the influence of environment—from his perfect state Plato would banish all art not edifying,

not mastering the subject to political purposes. In common with other disciples of Socrates he inherited a puritan asceticism and taught a Dorian depreciation of lighter, seductive externals.

The state is but the individual writ large—and here we have Plato expressing the sympathies of the Pythagorean brotherhood. The disorganization of the state from malformed individualism—the disintegration of a state's life which Plato was witnessing at Athens—he would heal by subjecting the individual to the best interest of all, to corporate sentiment. For his perfect state Sparta or Lacedæmon, where had persisted a military organization associated with the victory of northern invaders, gave Plato the outline—here again in the ideal state, as in the architecture of the Acropolis and in the religious drama, the northern Dorian genius of the Hellenes dominating the southern Ionian character. Rulers should be filled with “the divine love” of “just and judicious action.” War-men or military are the armed conscience and will of the state, and handicraftsmen and husbandmen who produce the great, supporting base. For this pattern state “an

imitation of the best and most beautiful life," Plato laid down rules concerning the "division of powers," the independence of the superior political functions, which descended to and influenced the work of our forefather-makers of the Constitution of the United States.

Conceptions of a state which prevailed at Athens in its marvelous fifty years, that of Pericles reported by Thucydides, that of Æschylus and Sophocles, and of Pheidias and Ictinus as shown by their works, regard the city not only as a dwelling place of safety from enemies, but also as a medium through which may be practiced refined ideals of life—not for the sake of life, but for the sake, said a pupil of Plato, of the noble life. This pupil, Aristotle, who at a time when the Greek city-state was perishing compactly organized the scattered material of existing constitutions of one hundred and fifty-eight Greek cities, became the founder of comparative political science. "Man is by nature a citizen," said this theorizer of the realities the Greek cities had lived. A citizen he defined by the right to make laws and administer justice. The state is a natural institution necessary

first from the needs of man, and second that he may live his best, complete life. It is an organism, each part of which is fitted for its function. It seeks the common good of all by building character and intellect, by the exercise of human personality. Formed to make life secure, said Aristotle, the state continues that men may live the highest activities, both civic and super-civic or divine. All education is but preparation for some worthy activity. The ideal state educates its people for its institutions. Only in this way can its institutions be preserved.

Upon what is Plato's greatness grounded? Answers have been many, not including, in summaries, a literary art that is an unvarying marvel. Upon his all-illuminative suggestiveness; upon his vitality that meets with an interpretation the spiritual phase of generations since his day—even of to-day; upon the fact that his mysticism, his illuminism has not been at war with the scientific spirit, but, says a disciple, has rather saved it from aridity and worship of word and form. In warming, softening and lighting Plato has the all-inclusiveness of the Teacher of Christianity.

The Socratic solution of life is that life should be an energizing, an ardent enquiry, an unswerving seeking for the eternal Good and Beautiful and True—ever a seeking and a beholding, never a satisfied possession. The solution celebrates the maturity of man. The deeper we see the more conscious we are of a great deficiency. We must nurse no illusion. Only seek and fear not. "It is wrong to do injustice in return for injustice, or to inflict ill on any man, whatever we may suffer at his hands," said Socrates a month before he drank the poison to which he was sentenced at his trial. In time we shall have forgotten self in the presence of the blazing universe of God. When self is forgotten the end is attained.

In Socrates and Plato we have come to the pinnacle of the Greek ascent. The energy of the genius of Hellas is great enough to overcome the hostility of nature and fate. Its pronunciamiento is:—Mediation between the soul and its external world is in a wise and strong self-limitation. *Aidos*, αἰδώς, reverent fear had now become *sophrosyne*, σωφροσύνη, temperate self-restraint based on reverence, health of soul, soundness of intellect,

sense of one's own worth. Like *aidos*, replete with religious feeling, dominating earlier peoples, *sophrosyne* subjugated exuberance, guarded against excess and made for moderation, self-control.

To measure the height attained by the genius of this third great epoch of the Hellenes is impossible. The same marvelous perfection we see everywhere in its works. It was mother of the completed idea of civil liberty, bearing witness in its output that democracy need not welter in commonness but may in its polity do the mightiest of deeds and with its thought set out the mightiest of works—this age of Pheidias in sculpture, of Æschylus and Sophocles and Euripides and Aristophanes in poetry, and of Socrates in ethics, in the conduct of life. The depth of its thought and art are unfathomable, living with the waters of the eternal spirit. We may exhaust all clear, calm and luminous images and not overpraise its majesty and splendor.

A consciousness of the meaning and potency of their work to later nations, and for generations to come, must have been alive among those Hellenes and urging them to ac-

comply the impossible. The lucid and persuasive speech of Pericles quoted on foregoing page 15, the reasons Herodotus gave for his writing, on foregoing pages 250 and 251, Thucydides in his history, bring us evidence of their feeling for the future and their heirs. They were infused with a conquering activity. They had the penetrative perception and power, the energy they said was divine—that not only engenders the idea that leads to action, but makes the thought itself all-conquering,—that quality called *dämonisch*:

“Je mehr du fühlst ein Mensch zu sein
Desto ähnlicher bist du den Göttern.”

**DECADENCE OF THE GREEK
SPIRIT**

Die Gesundheit und Daur eines Staats beruhet nicht auf dem Punkt seiner höchsten Cultur sondern auf einem weisen oder glücklichen Gleichgewicht seiner lebendig-wirkenden Kräfte. . . .

Aber das haben alle Gattungen menschlicher Aufklärung gemein, dass jede zu einem Punkt der Vollkommenheit strebet, der, wenn er durch einen Zusammenhang glücklicher Umstände hier oder dort erreicht ist, sich weder ewig erhalten noch auf der Stelle wiederkommen kann, sondern eine abnehmende Reihe anfängt.—HERDER, in *Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit*.

As societies consolidate they pass through a profound intellectual change. Energy ceases to find vent through the imagination, and takes the form of capital; hence as civilizations advance the imaginative temperament tends to disappear, while the economic instinct is fostered, and thus substantially new varieties of men come to possess the world.—BROOKS ADAMS, in *The Law of Civilization and Decay*.

DECADENCE OF THE GREEK SPIRIT

CAUSES OF DETERIORATION

MEASURED in the great processes of time the age of perfect ideals in Hellas, and the concrete embodying of its ideals, is as momentary as it is sublime. Still beautiful and affluent the spirit of Greece declined. Equilibrium of powers, the golden mean of avoidance of extremes, the harmony of aptitudes which rests upon the predominance of the highest and subordination of the lower—delicacy of the senses and susceptibility to impression that had led to the Hellene's sense of limitation, to his abhorrence of excess; feeling of the balanced use of all he perceived whether in his art or in his life, his lucid, vivid singleness in working means to ends—fell away. After the depleting war between Athens and Sparta there was little balance between the soul and body of Hellas. The fundamental relations upon which her spirit

had advanced for perhaps a thousand years, she had lost. A cleavage between the thinker and people had come; thought was now becoming the possession of the solitary, holding little active relation to social and political life. The constructive vigor of Hellas seemed near its end.

What led to the decadence?

Mere reaction, suggests one: The ideal was too high for the average citizen to make a reality. No life could maintain such a height. Its competition, its very intensity, must in time react, in politics to division and disintegration from factional strife; in art to softness and enervation. The decay of Greek civilization was due to a weakening of the moral fiber of the Greek people.

Exhausting the blood of the nation by extinction of the strongest in spirit and body, the best, in interminable, inter-city strife, especially in the Peloponnesian war, says a second,—just as the progressive energy of nations' blood has been depleted in many another time in later history; as in the death of strong men of imperial Rome in her extensive wars, in the sweeping away of strong men of England in Marston Moor and Naseby, when

men of Scotland, "the Flowers of the Forest, were a'wede away" at Flodden, in the death of strong men of America at Bunker Hill and Saratoga.

Physical forces of the Hellenes may have been insidiously sapped, a third avers: Malaria becoming endemic about four hundred years before Christ, destroyed initiative force and disintegrated the energy of the people, in such ways as the disease has devitalized races to-day. There is proof that during the Peloponnesian war, after the plague, Athens suffered a considerable languor and indetermination and unwillingness to make effort to gain back her losses. Exuberant strength she showed at times later, but it was intermittent. Malaria, slowly inrooting, might have led to modifications, to invisible changes of the ideas of the people that occurred in the last quarter of the fifth century.

Again, says another, simplest economics may have affected conditions—deficiency of the home food supply. The population of Athens had expanded, and imports must have grown increasingly difficult during the Peloponnesian war and afterwards. Abnormal economic conditions doubtless had had much

to do with the political unrest. Able-bodied slaves competed in manufacture with the landless, poorer citizen. Property and its possession underlay a notable part of the political antagonism of Hellas.

Weight of numbers had at last a victory in the decay of Hellas. Compared with the hordes about them the Hellenes, we have said, were a handful. They had always been fighting against odds. Their wonderful work in politics, in ethics, in physical science and philosophy, in poetry and prose, in architecture and tectonic arts they had done with subversion as a possibility ever threatening. They had swept the disintegrator back when he came in military floods. They had unified, assimilated, absorbed, foreign elements and influences to an amazing degree. The name of Hellas had gone afar. Hellas was the light, the glory of beauty and freedom, to which the oppressed and maimed of other lands, and also the adventurers and traders of other lands, had turned. Foreign men poured in. Foreign ideas, foreign habits, overrode the earnest, poised life of the earlier generations. The incomers lessened the people's regard for ancestral custom, for race

law and race legend, and, strongest sanction to race stability, race religion and fertility. Race persistence declined.

Hellenism fell at last before numbers, an inert and superstition-fed mind, and before individualism developing itself awry, incapable of unity and of its trusteeship Pericles had bespoken. The Greeks' frugal, modest self-reliance, their power of doing without, gave way to a form of individualism that defeated itself in profligate luxury and windy education. In place of an ardent public spirit there grew indifference and stagnation. The social mind had ceased to idealize liberty, and to worship it and strive for its perpetuation. It had become estranged from itself. Loyalty to and reverence for the historic past fell away, and also devotion to state which had made their heritage sacred, a gift worth passing on.

Patriotism, especially among the prosperous and corrupt, gave place to a cosmopolitanism and an economic existence so poor as to proclaim devotion to self its sole end. Personal ambition, narrow aims, culture, supplanted the ardor of heroic deeds, great causes, and made preferable life in personal

ease and luxury. The individual settled into pursuit of what his short-sightedness deemed his own separate interests. It was a day of the ascendancy of the self-seeking type of man. The high altruism that distinguished Greece in the Persian wars had reacted to egotism. False individualism had developed to a loss of public spirit. The far-sighted sense of the unity of individual and state that had glorified the citizen in the earlier city-state was now darkened by a supposed antagonism between the interests of the individual and of the state. Certain Hellenes seized opportunity for wealth and power and destroyed the balance of a democracy—at Athens was “contention to rule,” said Plato, competition for offices and honors. The weaker could not withstand the force of the interested strong. In larger laws of biology even states suffer senile decay.

A saying of Plato that a change of mode of music indicates change in the laws is quoted on foregoing page 198. The rule fits other arts also. Into the drama Euripides had introduced clean, sharp individualization. And in sculpture the worker was, in these years, not embodying national or state ideals, char-

acter, moral sentiment, the ethos of Aristotle. Rather, as Praxiteles in carving the sensuous beauty of Aphrodite, he was portraying, and with more individuality in technic and more human feeling and character, divinities whose gifts were for the enjoyment of the individual citizen.

Even the unifying religious cults, which socialized the individual soul repledging it to the soul of the people—these lost their hold. Supernatural intervention of supreme powers in the affairs of men was a part of the creed of every Hellene. After the disasters of the Peloponnesian war, gods who had permitted destruction of the political leadership of Athens received scantier courtesies. Religion, as we now intimated, had in many functions been devotion to the city-state embodying or projecting the united consciousness of the people. Private forms of worship, finding in the happiness of another life consolations for sufferings in this, in these times grew apace. That toleration, that liberality of the democratic sentiment at Athens which permitted all discourse and intellectual disquisition, that respect for the individual's dissent in opinion and manner to

which Pericles refers in his speech on foregoing page 225—which had allowed the blameless quest of Socrates and his dwelling on special promptings from his divine voice—right of free speech, love of fullest liberty, the freedom from restraint that had permitted the spirit to go unnumbered ways in the wanderings of thought, in political aspiration, in religious fathomings, in philosophical speculation, in analyses of the moral aspects of man—lent unchallenged opportunity to demoralizing incomers.

Thucydides and Euripides and others of the day had voiced a blighting skepticism in respect to the gods, and miracles, and “prophecies and oracles and the like which ruin men by the hopes they inspire in them.” They had carried disbelief further than it had gone in the sayings of credulous Herodotus and his generation. The funeral oration of Pericles, pronounced in the year 431 and reported by Thucydides, has, it is noted, no allusion to popular religious myths, although it glows with the amethystine light of a people’s grief. Their religion, originally a living thing, had hardened to a mass of formulas and ceremonies made impressive by

riches of the state and by association with the race's art. A ritual expressing feeling of foregone generations deadened warming and buoyant intimacy with emotions of their day. The people turned elsewhere, to other associations, for exercise of their religious consciousness.

Emotion defeated reason. Their old-time faith—that a lucid, strong intelligence, self-reliant, sustained by energy and directness of vision is master of all circumstances—had gone. Their rationalism had fallen, and at times before insidious, infiltrating currents of faiths that nullified the basal principles and facts of Greek life, and before miasmatic superstitions which masses of slaves and trading foreigners seized as they poured into Hellas, or perchance brought with them. Greece had labored to educate a corrupt world and was herself led to corrupt the ideals she sought to universalize.

Worship of the gods, we have seen, had been an ancestral usage. The gods incarnated race feeling and race thinking. Men and women who united in worship showed their loyalty to their race and to their state which sanctioned and set forth the liturgy.

Not to join in the ritual meant disloyalty to state and race. Their worship asserted their common inheritance and oneness. When the worship lost hold on the people their sense of oneness in blood lessened. But long after faith in their religious values died, festivals instituted by the state held the attention of the populace by the splendor of their ceremonies, their poetical imagery, the beauty of their ritual in form and color, and by association with the Hellenic race-traditions and the music of the Hellenic speech. The Athenians, we have said, were ever markedly given to religious cults. Even when Paul spoke on the Areopagus centuries after their nationalism had gone, he told the generation of his day that he saw they were a very god-fearing folk, *ὡς δεισιδαιμονεστέρους ὑμᾶς θεωρῶ*.¹

¹ More than a hundred years after Paul, Pausanias wrote of an altar to Mercy in the market place of Athens—"to whom, although of all gods he is the most helpful in human life and in the mutations of fortune, the Athenians are the only Hellenes who pay honor." "They are more pious than other folks," the old Greek traveler continues, "for they have an altar to Reverent Fear, and to Rumor, and to Impulse. It is clear that to those who are more pious than others there will be a proportionate share of good fortune."

Attendance at and glorying in the national games and, at Delphi and Olympia, devotion to the divinities of the shrines, had been, we have seen, a general expression of the Hellenes' national unity. But even the pan-Hellenic festivals which had had so great a share of the Greeks' spontaneity in thought and joy in action, and had once fairly voiced the profounder spirit of Greek religion and Greek politics, passed from the ideal of physical strength united with grace in friendly competition. No longer did balanced bodily excellence and vigor, refined by love of beauty of form and religious feeling, bespeak national life. Now athletes were classmen, monstrosously developed by exercise, set apart, over-specialized. The games were coming to be commercialized athletic shows, where human beings, over-developed to the degree of a mechanical instrument, made sport an end in itself and trafficked for victory—where, as popular heroes, they exhibited their temporary strength to under-developed, unathletic applauders filling the seats of an amphitheater, spectators themselves indisposed to effort.

With the Greeks, as with a sometime later

nation, the very core of its formative energy was a religiosity, that exalted power of the puritan in an other-worldliness which expands his democracy in this life—the strength of the worshiper who is a priest as well as child of his divinity. Sacerdotalism eats out the heart of a democracy. When a priest caste grew, even in so indefinite lines as in later Hellas, when authority sought to support itself and credulous practices flourished among the people, a weakening of the individual set in. That in his old age, writing his “Laws,” Plato inveighs with all his eloquence against infidelities, the heresy of disbelief in the Greek gods, in their providence and care, in their incorruptibility, doubtless brings us light upon actual conditions before his eyes. The foundations of the later Hellenes’ religion were the ideas and sensibilities of their ancestors. Race associations had built upon them, and when they were broken or displaced nothing of inherent religious value took their place.

The last stages of the Greek spirit are now clear, and also the pathos of its fall. Subversion of the power of Athens at the end of the Peloponnesian war left the world of

Hellas incapable of thrusting back inraiders. Disintegration of her spiritual and self-reliant strength opened the way for any well-knit, crafty and ambitious foreigner to possess himself of her people. "The man of Macedon," Philip, answered the call and fitted the occasion. Among the Hellenes, sycophants, that is manufacturers of false and frivolous indictments, demagogues pretending to represent the people but in reality self-seekers, and foreign adventurers, out-balanced the patriots. The people armed for their country's defense and met death in battle, says their epitaph composed by Demosthenes, that the Hellenes might not bear the hateful yoke of slavery.

The progression of the Greek spirit ends wholly with the establishment of Macedonian supremacy in 338 before Christ. Liberty fled in the last mutterings of Demosthenes' thunder against the barter with Philip of Macedon. The Greek mind stifled under dictation from Pella. Its creative activity ceased. "Far-seeing Zeus," said the people's ancient Homer, "takes away half the virtue of a man the day when slavery closes down upon him."

There succeeded a nation of slaves in civic life and savans. To lavish money upon personal enjoyment Greeks of the great ages had esteemed vulgar, inhuman, un-Hellenic. To see in the luxury of private life a compensation for the loss of political freedom they had judged the choice of slaves. But in Hellas this now happened. Demosthenes, and other orators, tell of the show and extravagance of the self-seeking men of their day compared with the simple living of the Athenians who had built Athens with a magnificence and splendor no future time could surpass. The moral basis of the national greatness had fallen away. More than half a century after the victory at Charonæa various of the cities of Hellas recovered independence and formed a loose federation—each city exercising the old Greek autonomy in its social and peculiar affairs, but a federated or common government for purposes touching their nationalism. The life of the league was brief.

A virile, unconquerable people enlightened with a social quality, a world-loyalty, never before embodied, prepossessed with the quest of the ethical values of life, aflame with the invisible spiritual energy of a religious en-

thusiasm, zealous with an ardor to systematize knowledge, gifted with a mental suppleness and penetration into all problems, of unparalleled art impulse, idealists, doers of deeds and thinkers of great thoughts fell before irrationalism even to destructive economics in their state, and an unnaturalism that forgot essential race conceptions in their church, before mere subtleties and a sophistical making the worse the better reason. There came a man who did "plough with a silver ploughshare." Abroad in the land was the siren-song of self-indulgence and the luxury lightness yearns for.

Doric puritanism and its race traditions and resolute bravery no longer cleaned Hellenic air. In place of spiritual height deeply rooted in race ethics, instead of an ancient simplicity and solidity there was an ever-increasing frivolity, reacting egotism and pleasures. Possibly we may say the Hellenes were victims of their own versatility. That is, their progressive energy, the strength of their creative and inventive faculties may so far have overpowered force of tradition that they no longer preserved this second conservative force in active civilization. Their culti-

vation and its vast creative power had lost balance.

Their disintegration, as we have said, was helped by tendencies of disparate and unrelated stocks of the population, and perhaps by the old, fluid, solvent, Ægean people's blood that could have little intellectual comprehension of and emotional sympathy with the organization and administration with which their old-time, conquering, northern Achæans, energetic idealists, men of action, were instinct,—by means of which organization alone the Hellenic states could have strength to endure.

Those peoples coming from the north, whom Homer had sung as Achæans, whose greatest inroad we know as Dorian, had possibly spent themselves. Amalgamated with the multitudes of the milder Ægean folk whom they had originally subdued, to whose civilization they had given order and force and breadth, whose art impulse the stimulus of their energy in other fields of human action had impelled to output,—these may have been finally overcome by the larger stream of blood. Indolence, fondness for pleasure, acquiescence in whatever power constituted it-

self master, may have been evidence of a subjugated race's complete conquest of its old-time victor.

That the spirit of a people is moral, vigorous, virtuous, while it is absorbed in realizing itself, in giving to its purposes objective existence, is almost a truism. When it accomplishes the end of its generic, spiritual life, it ceases its activities and passes from maturity to age, unless it originates or takes on a new purpose and so a new spirit. The Hellenes had ceased to win their own spiritual life and carry it further. "The gods bring to pass much that is beyond all hope," sings Euripides, "and the expected does not happen. But God has discovered a way for the unexpected. So did this matter turn out."

For events in history seemingly more unfortunate for our human kind than the overwhelming of the Greek life and the spirit impelling it, we must turn to the quenching, amid the chaos of peoples that marked the patristic age, of the moral impulses of early Christianity—when, says a late writer, the ethical enthusiasm, the insight into human needs of its Teacher were subordinated to a

system of doctrines generated in decadent Greek dialectics, misty oriental symbolism, metaphysical myths and Jewish dogmas.

But even now, after her subversion, through what she had already accomplished, Greece entered upon another work of human consciousness. Dying she lived for the world; it "is not quickened except it die." In giving up her exclusiveness and nationality she entered more immediately upon a broader influence—the evangelizing all sequent centuries. Her radiant spirit had put forth a perfect blossom. Asiatic and Italian myriads were now, and in centuries to come, to bear its seed to all lands. Great fusion of peoples resulted from the leadership of Philip and Alexander of Macedon, and soon after Alexander's troublous day it was hard to draw the line between Greek and barbarian. Greek art was now become fit for art's small talk; Greek literature widespread, but imitative, precise, learned; Greek philosophy at times morosely factional and distorted, but still seminal.

Isocrates had said that the Hellenes' language was a matter no longer of race but intelligence. Already the speech bearing its

precious treasure had so made its way that the stranger, aping the child of light, might gain or externally assume an Hellenic intellectual view-point. The oriental translated his name into Greek—just as at a later day he translated it into Greco-Latin, and as he often translates it into English to-day. During the next centuries, upon each new conqueror, the spirit of Greece seized hold till the whole Roman world became Hellenized; until in Constantinople Roman imperialism itself sought to gain its strength in a Greek foundation.

The free-playing life of the people out of which Greek oratory and Greek dialectics and love of discussion had grown, had passed away. But power of speech and of cultivated expression still abode. Studies of, and acquaintance with, the ideas and literature of earlier Greek times now came to fulfill the ideal of education—that from which our ideal of education to-day has by direct event and tradition descended. Socrates, Plato and Aristotle had developed a complete philosophy of education, which passed from Greece south to Africa, and westward where the Romans adopted it and fitted it to their needs.

From them the philosophy spread to Teutonic and Celtic populations of the north. The Renaissance revived and expanded the ideal and passed it on, till we find in treatises of our English Milton and Locke and other writers principles set forth by the works of Xenophon, Plato and Aristotle.

CHARACTERISTICS COMMON TO HELLENES AND AMERICANS

The spirit that animated the Hellenes is unique. We do not find its repetition. All parallels are imperfect. Of late years Japan has at times faintly suggested the Hellenic feeling towards race unity, and in its rapidity of development the all-assimilative, eager, adaption of ideas of the Greeks. Also in the ethics of Bushido the Hellenic sense of self-limitation; and in art a plasticity of conception and expression. In Japan, too, we have modern likeness to the old Greek solidarity of the group. But in its repression of individualism Japan is distinctly non-Hellenic. The world is grown large. What moderns strive to achieve is unwieldy. Our outworkings have not proportion and grace. Nor

have they, save rarely, the consciousness of God-given mission, as with the old Hellenes.

“Eternal Youths of History” the Greeks have variously been called. In one of his latest works, “*Timæus*,” Plato makes an Egyptian priest say to Solon, “You Hellenes are never anything but children . . . you are all young; there is no opinion handed down among you by ancient tradition, nor any science hoary with age.” “Children!” exclaims Europe at the naïve individualism of our fellow country-men and women, and their unproclaimed lack of background and race-tradition.

To those old Hellenes Americans have a certain likeness. They are not wholly foreign, wholly strange. Similarities of each people the Dean of Greek Letters in America has named along lines similar to these:—Buoyancy and elasticity of spirits, quick perception, straightness and keenness of vision, directness of action, energy, audacity, inventiveness, a versatile many sidedness, mobility, universality. Another quality of the Hellenic temperament an English scholar has dwelt upon—a natural expansiveness, a wish to enter into kindly relations with those one

meets, to exchange, one might say, a pleasant word with the stranger in a forest roadway, to utter a fleeting emotion or thought to chance passers-by. That human touch also is like the Americans'—doubtless in each people founded on the colonists' environment, a singleness of purpose and simplicity of life that must be with the pioneer, a subordination of the complex and organized which Americans have to this time successfully kept.

The Hellenes lived their life, somebody has said, much as we Americans should have lived it. A puritan-blooded American from Kansas City or Minneapolis, walking through the Piræus of the fourth century before Christ, and onward to and in Athens, would, if the high-pitched idealism of the man could speak from his tailored body, doubtless be hailed as a possible Hellene from the shadows of Ætna, or from some northern town. In the instincts of his soul, whether American or Hellene, the world is fresh. All is new, all is plastic. There is no exhaustion, no world-weariness. No sentimental melancholia, no hazy inanities and faded æstheticism. He joys in a mental dexterity, a gift

of bringing to one supreme effort all energies of body and will, putting heart and soul into whatever task he may for the time essay, ready appliance of the Opportunity that the altar in the Olympia stadium prompted. A characteristic of his is what Thucydides said belonged to the Athenians—to get through the matters they have undertaken is their holiday, and nothing to do is as disagreeable as wearisome occupation.

The old Hellenes had not only the peculiar endowments of their race, but an added characteristic distinguished them—namely, a more nervous energy. So Americans, to-day. They had the predilection of youth for adventure, for change associated with risk, that derring-do, that courage and endurance that lights the countenance of eternal youth. Then, too, the love of being first, an appetite for success, “always to be best and excelling others,” said Homer, was a fertile Hellenic characteristic. “Contention (competition) stirs a man to work even though he be inactive,” sang Hesiod. “For any one in lack of work, when he sees another, a rich man, he speeds himself to plough, and to plant and manage well his house; neighbor vies

with neighbor who is hastening to wealth. Good is this contention. Potter grudges potter, and craftsman, craftsman; and beggar is jealous of beggar and poet of poet." This quality grows with what it feeds upon, but remains insatiable. To it we may ascribe somewhat of the excelling greatness of the Hellenes, and in some measure their unhappy fall.

In all democracies, it has been noted, open, noisy applause expressing public gratitude for service to fellow-citizens is generally esteemed the desirable of honors. No other manifestation of deference and admiration seems so highly prized. The more impressive the people of the democracy, the intenser the sentiment, the louder the applause. The greater also the liability of the acclaimed to a demoralized self-estimation, to subversion of judgment and to ultimate corruption.

To their political leaders the Hellenic democracies gave profuse rewards of material substance. The Greek character was quick, frank, sympathetic, impressible. Acceptance of the gift witnessed consciousness in the men that they, too, rated at a price their patriotism. But when a leader as poised as

Pericles had gained firm hold on the people, or as later, Demosthenes, such men used their power honorably.

Another present-day psychological interest also pertained among this sensitive people. The Greeks were given to see the importance in action, and in public affairs, of what they called *pHEME*, *φήμη*, Rumor, a goddess of mysterious origin who impels men, they imaginatively said, a subtle force for which our English has no name, or at best a misrepresenting one—the force that makes the collective mind, the primitive habit of thinking in group unity, the gregarious sympathy, which, contagious, quick to act on suggestion, forgetful of self, forgetful also of calm reason, sometimes lacking higher moral qualities, by the crude collective mentation or emotion of group life submerges individual will and forms at a crisis the common, spontaneous impulse of a multitude, an all dominating social will. They recognized the mysterious unit in the days of Homer. In greatly enlarged phases this *vox dei* became the *vox populi* of the inspiration after Thermopylæ, and drove to the upbuilding of Athens. In that city stood an altar to

Rumor. The city's jury courts, accustoming the people to seek and balance opposing views, the habit of public speaking and teaching of rhetor and sophist, led to the weight of different judgments neutralizing contagion. To this emotional mind of the crowd the Hellenes were exceedingly susceptible. So also are Americans.

There is no alchemy by which we can transmute the rich and vivid life of that elder people to our view. And we can not objectively see ourselves. It is only when we and our social accomplishments for human life have at last receded into past history that we can be viewed in large perspective, without any megalomaniac estimate of our own, or any micrifying judgment of others setting us where they declare we belong. The imagination, the imaginative warmth and energy that plays so lively and so profound a part in the spiritual life of the Germanic races when compared with other peoples, is in Hellene and American alike, and a basis of their likeness.

The Greeks had the inestimable gift of a noble curiosity, which drives human beings to look further, and still further, and question

if there is not more beyond. They brought a clear, fearless intellect to every question, a daring through which they irresistibly rose. They had, that is, a mind that molded its thought to action and, accepting no attitude as permanent and final consciously avoided a fixed mode, rigidity, crystallization. They yearned for and placed themselves in the flux of things. They loved the struggle of opposing forces, the combat of contraries—even to putting antithesis in their philosophy, their drama, and into the form of the sentence in which they expressed their thought.

Their civilization was essentially modern. They exemplified the dynamic theory of life—constant moving. They were dynamic, not static. This makes their qualities, their spirit, so difficult of molding to formal definition. Life to them was desire for freedom, for expression. They fulfilled the law that so long as a race is plastic and capable of change it is vigorous, and that when that race takes on fixity, persistence in form, it is effete and prepared for extinction. Their passage through their centuries exemplified the definition of life by Herbert Spencer, “the continuous adjustment of internal rela-

tions to external relations," and their death came in "the non-correspondence of the organism with its environment."

THE COSMIC VISION THE GREEKS WORKED OUT

The Hellenes are thousands of years in the silent land. Disintegrators of theirs and opponents, someone has suggested, live mainly in the penumbra of their cutting-off. They left a splendid legacy and spoke in a voice of surpassing wisdom and beauty to all races succeeding them. Always young, never gray with time, their life-products eternalize the greatness of ideas and force mankind to acknowledge their priceless value. Ideas were to them immortal. The significance of life to their view lay in the idea it embodied. In their fortunate days prosperity was their means to the idea, at no time the end. The old Christian simile that poets and preachers are but flutes through which the Breath of God flows in divine music, is most applicable to this people and their demiurgic accomplishment.

Hellas spiritualized the world, we have said. That was the gift of her peoples'

single-hearted desire to know, of their severe and disciplined earnestness, genuineness, thoroughness. Hellenism, says an eminent critic, is "the habit of fixing our minds upon the intelligible law of things," "the letting of our consciousness play freely and simply upon the facts before us." The Hellenes' singleness of spirit, says another, is shown in the crystalline lucidity of their speech—their directness of phrase (that would be called baldness even in the terseness of our English) indicating directness of thought, freshness of conception. A simplicity, primitive, going straight to the definite, concrete thing, gave them this directness in their endeavor to realize the world.

The primary conception their vision of life, their incisive critical faculty, their unsearchable imagination evolved—that the world is a general order—marches persistently. It was the basis of their progress. It has been the basis of others' *Drang nach Wahrheit*.

Order their susceptible, reasoning spirit learned from generations about them, from the springing and seeding of things, from their azure heavens and the stately progress of its stars, from their sea and its many-

lipping tides, from the motion of the earth of which they sometimes retold the legend that they were the children. Infinitude they felt in the all-nature life of which their sanity declared themselves a part. Eternity, also, the elements taught them. Their minds were fixed on, and their reason endeavoring to picture the real world of which they felt the physical to be a shadow. Energy, in accord with their struggling endeavor, was divine, and in their conception of their permanence in it, they made an unconscious statement of the principle of its conservation.

In nature's unconquerable processes they saw life, a self-conscious reason acting through laws and manifesting itself in the natural world. Reason, said Anaxagoras, arranges and is the cause of all things. The cosmos a universal and eternal whole, obedient to law, at one with it, so to their constructive imagination—always, in modern phrase, in touch with “the fire that burns at the heart of things”—“an ever-living fire,” old Heraclitus said, “lighted according to measure and quenched according to measure”—the cosmos must imply a vitalizing life, a divine intelligence, an eternal, per-

fecting mind manifesting itself. Thus they proceeded to work out their conception of divine dominion, to trace the action and method of divine government. They gave reasons for the God the Hebrews were declaring. This was the inevitable end of the awe of personified nature, seeing God in every living bush, which especially bore upon and made their epic age beautiful. Essentially the Hellenes' religion was reverence for powers of the universe, physical as well as spiritual.

But why should not the everlasting reason that manifests itself in the order of the world of nature make evident its intention in the world of active spirit? As they conceived the material universe a mysterious whole, under the reign of law, never losing its majesty and might, so the thought and action of man, intelligence and morals, they determined, with "that afflatus of religious feeling with which the world of Hellenic existence is saturated," could not be in league with or the creatures of chance. The soul of man must rest upon eternal laws. "All is divine and all is human." Reason, self-active, whose masterpiece is law, organized men's lives.

Human society is itself neither anarchy nor chaos, but subject to law. Within that law is evolution of spirit. Men must unite in an ordered society. This to the Hellenes meant their city-state and the unfolding of human life within it. To "live according to nature," one of their favorite maxims, meant to the Greeks to live according to order, away from excess, to live according to laws of self-command and self-denial.

Hellas followed the fate of the incomparable and precious as of the most worthless civilizations. But the passion of her people for the True, Beautiful, Just, and their eternal meaning, still burns in broken marbles and in scattered fragments of her poets and other workers for her advance. Their remains are to-day the chiefest witness of the power of thought that our race-life has thus far known. For those searching for light they are an illumination, and to those seeking the heroic and beautiful and rational, a possession for all time.

